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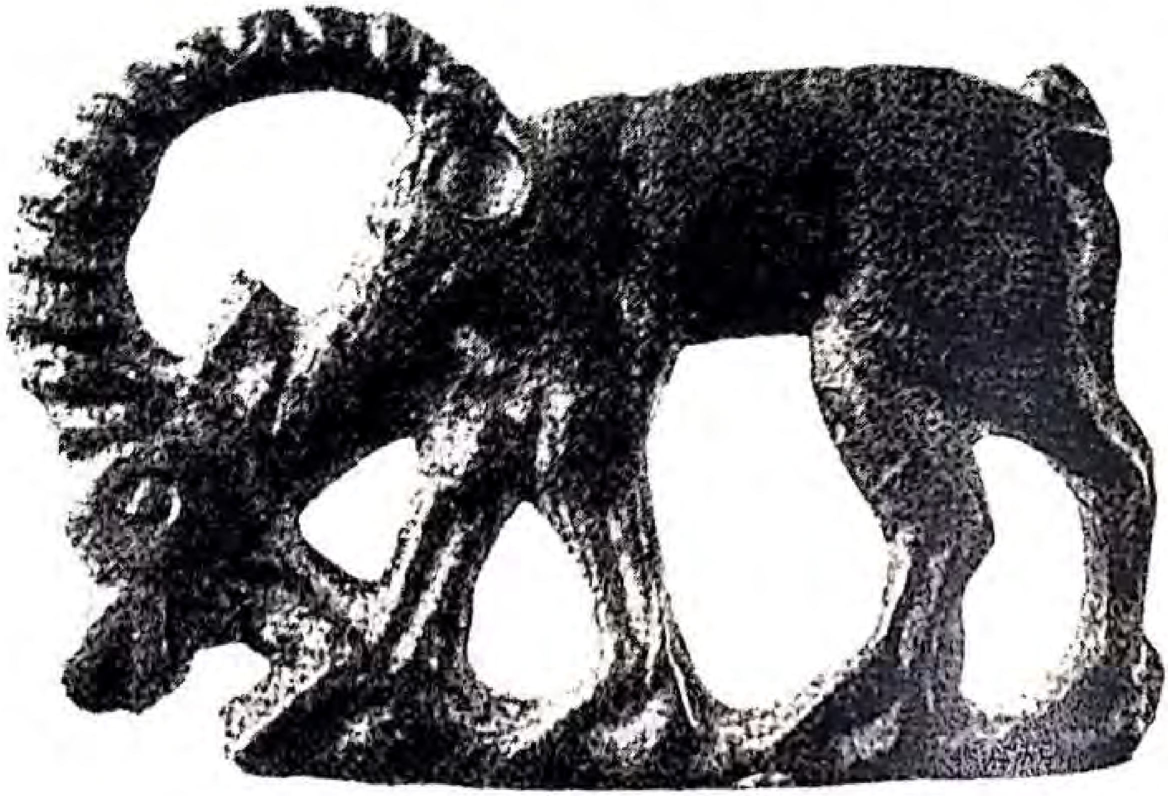

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INTRODUCTION

The book which I am putting before the public today had its origins in a thesis I began working on in Prague when I was studying under Professor J. Bidlo, and continued under Professor B. Karlgren in Sweden from 1928 to 1930. Later I contacted Professor G. Haloun, at that time at Halle University, where he studied the geography of the ancient world and various barbarian tribes in northern China. I paid repeated visits to him in 1930, and at the end of that year I entered my study of the migration of the Ti as a doctorate thesis at the Charles University, Prague. It was agreed between us that Professor Haloun would publish his work on the migration of the Ch'üan Jung while I would publish mine on the migration of the Ti tribes and other northern barbarians. Professor Haloun never published this study, and when I saw him in Cambridge in 1946 he told me in conversation that the whole subject had ceased to interest him and that he would never publish even his material. He may have been influenced by the unfavourable reception given to his work; I very much regretted his decision, for in spite of its shortcomings his work presented a great deal of valuable material and failure to publish it meant a heavy loss for sinology. Although Professor B. Karlgren had a great deal of truth on his side when he criticized historical geography (Karlgren 1946 B, p. 199 ff., pp. 355—356, I cannot feel that he was right to condemn Haloun's work outright. There is certainly no sense in basing far-reaching conclusions on such late sources as Ti wang shih chi *or* San huang pen chi, *but we should not forget that many localities in China have been inhabited continuously since ancient times, and that certain names have thus been handed down there for thousands of years. There would certainly be no point in trying to decide the site of the capital of the little state of Li (1) in south-east Shan-hsi, which was destroyed by the Chou even before the final liquidation of the Shang dynasty: was it the old district of Li-ch'eng (2), which lay to the north-west of the district of the same name today, or was it Li station,* *Li t'ing (3) to the south-west of the present Ch'ang-chih district (4)? We have no reason to doubt, however, that the little state lay somewhere in the foothills round the city of Lu-ch'eng (5), where tradition places it. For one thing it can be traced in place-names like Li-ch'eng, Li-t'ing, the river Li, Li shuei, rising 20* li *to the south-west of Ch'ang-chih, and the Mountain of the Duke of Li, Li hou ling (6) which rises above Li-t'ing. The most important clue for the localisation of the state Li is, however, the account of the clash between the Duke of Li and the chief of the Lu tribe, which belonged to the Red Ti as we shall see later. It proves that the territory of the Duke of Li must have been in the close vicinity of the Lu tribe (7) or on their territory. Lu then appears as a district* hsien *already in the chapter on Geography in Han-shu (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 28 A, p. 46 a). This is decidedly proof enough that we are right to localize the state Li in the neighbourhood of the present Lu-ch'eng.*

I think there is a general conclusion to be drawn from this example: except for special cases we are not likely to succeed in exact localization of individual names, particularly when they were famous because they appeared in the old holy writings. On the other hand, I think we can probably determine the approximate localization in cases where several names are linked in a historical context. What we determine is of course their mutual relationship rather than their exact localization, but that is enough for the requirements of history. That is why I believe that Haloun's proposed localizations were of value, not for the exact determination of sites, but for the mutual relationship between different localities. On the other hand our rule has its negative aspect as well: we must reject those localizations which do not fit into the historical context, even although they may be accepted by tradition. One such localization, clearly inacceptable, will be discussed below when we come to T'ai-yüan (8), a place often referred to in sources of the Western Chou period.

I have made several attempts to rewrite this study, but other more urgent tasks always intervened; yet I felt that Haloun's work and my own ought not to lie unused, for it was clear that the constantly renewed controversy round the origin of the Chinese people and their culture and the part played by alien elements in their formation, would be on firmer ground if the considerable body of existing material on the barbarians of ancient China were critically examined and assessed.

Repeated study of the material convinced me, however, *that Haloun's original conception would have to be rejected; he believed the decisive impulse setting the barbarians to the north of China in motion was the arrival of the Indo-Europeans, the Tocharians, Yüeh-chih on the western Chinese frontier; they in turn set the Ch'üan Jung moving, and the latter then pressed in on the other tribes, especially the Ti. I was not entirely convinced by this theory when I was working with Professor Haloun years ago, but only now have I succeeded in working out what I believe to be a more acceptable hypothesis. I hope that I have been able to give a firmer foundation to Haloun's fundamental idea, and to place it in a broader historical context: the idea that certain events in the Far East. the migrations and invasions of barbarian tribes into northern China, were connected with similar processes in the western regions of Euro-Asia, the migrations of the Cimmerians and Scythians. I believe that what happened in northern China can be interpreted as the consequence of the gigantic historical process which shook the whole of the steppe zone of Euro-Asia in the first millennium B.C. and took the same form at both ends of this belt. The great majority of the tribes living in this steppe zone of Euro-Asia changed over to a new economic and social form, nomadism, based on the breeding of great herds of domesticated animals, especially horses. This new form of economy implied a new division of the steppe and semi-desert regions, and in the ensuing conflicts a new class of warrior-rulers arose, archers on horseback who were a threat to neighbouring regions. This process is one of the illustrations of the close links between the two ends of Euro-Asia — whatever happened at one end had repercussions at the other. I feel that this fact should be particularly stressed today, so that we do not lose sight of the fundamental unity of the historical process throughout the world. A brief summary of my thoughts on this subject appeared in an article (Průšek 1966) and in a review (Průšek 1967) published last year.*

My thanks are due to two of my own students, Dr. T. Pokora and Dr. E. Bayerlová, who not only urged me to prepare my work for publication, but gave me active help withthe manuscript. My special thanks are due to Dr. Felicitas Wünschová who with unlimited patience and care shaped my text from often illegible manuscripts and corrected numerous mistakes.

The present state of research in Europe

I

The attention which has been paid to the role of the barbarians, particularly to the north, in the history of ancient China is almost disproportionate, primarily because it has been persistently dealt with in connection with the origin and evolution of the Chinese nation. The fact that these two questions were taken as one brought confusion and unnecessary difficulties into the study of the history and character of the various barbarian tribes living in the neighbourhood of the Chinese. Thus the earliest works dealing with these barbarians are actually better than later efforts, overrun as they are with wild and unfounded speculations. In this survey I shall only deal with works which have brought forward new material or suggested new interpretations; the remaining titles are given in the Bibliography or dealt with in the notes to the appropriate parts of the book.

A summary of the settlement and history of the barbarians in ancient China which was very good for its time was given by J. Legge in his introduction to the translation of *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Tso chuan* (Legge 1872) (referred to here as L Ch Cl V, pp. 122—135); he summarized the results of the work of various Chinese scholars, and in particular *Ch'un-ch'iu ta shih piao* (1) by Ku Tung-kao (2). Legge's only error of a more serious nature is his rejection of the opinion that the Ti settled to the west of the Huang-ho, where (as we shall see in due course) their original home was; and then the fact that he applies the name White Ti to the northern Ti, the Hsien-yü tribes, etc. A long succession of writers followed him in this. H. Plath based his work (Plath 1874) on that of Legge to a considerable extent, but on the whole I would say it was of less value than the latter; Plath pays no attention to the relative reliability of his sources and calmly quotes *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Li chi* side by side.

Research into the relations between China and the barbarians took a new turn when attention was paid to the influence of the Turks and Tartars on Chinese history. We may say that it was not a turn for the better. The first impulse in this direction was the identification of the Hsiung-nu people, who played an important role in the history of China under the Han dynasty and later, with the Huns — who in turn were believed to have been Turks. M. de Guignes was the first (De Guignes 1756—1758, Vol. 1, p. 216) to suggest this identification, and support for it was given by F. Hirth, in particular, on several occasions (Hirth 1900 A, Hirth 1900 B, Hirth 1901).

Scholars now began to investigate other names of barbarian peoples appearing in Chinese history, and to try to relate them to the Hsiung-nu and therefore to the Huns and by extension to the Turks. It became something of a fashion to call all the barbarian tribes of northern China Turks and Tartars. A certain amount of support for this was seen in the fact that Szu-ma Ch'ien included references to the Ch'üan Jung, the Ti and other northern tribes in the 110th chapter of his *Shih-chi*, devoted to the Hsiung-nu. The reasons which led Szu-ma Ch'ien to mention these barbarians in the chapter on the Hsiung-nu, of course, were not ethnographical, implying belief in any relationship between them, but geographical. He simply put all references to the northern barbarians into this chapter. Another motive for this identification was the fact that in old sources we find names of barbarian peoples which at least in their modern reading resemble that of the Hsiung-nu, such as that of the Hsien-yün (3) mentioned in the *Shih-ching* and in inscriptions, and of the Hsün-yü (4), found in sources to which we shall be returning later; and others.

J. Edkins had already put forward the hypothesis that the name Ti (5) (Dick) was a transcription of the name of the Turks (Edkins, 1887, p. 228). F. Hirth became the chief propagator of this theory when he published the first serious history of Ancient China (Hirth 1908). Here he not only identified the Hsien-yün and Hun-yü with the Hsiung-nu and thus with the Huns, whom he assumed were Turks, but even suggested that some root like *hun* or *kun* (a Hun name) might have formed the foundation for the name Ch'üan Jung. He took various tribes settled on the northern frontiers of China to be the ancestors of the Turks, Mongols and Tungus. On the basis of the ceremonial name for the sword of the Chou king Wu-wang, *ch'ing-lü* (6), which he took as the transcription of the Turkish word *kingrak*, Hirth even went so far (p. 66) as to say that "Wu-wang, whose dominions lay on the western border of China, stood in certain relations with his next-door neighbours, the ancestors of the Hsiung-nu". This led the way to much speculation about the importance of the Turkish element in the formation of the Chinese nation. Hirth did not stop there, however. On p. 70 he put forward the idea which crops up again in an extreme form in the work of Eberhard: "We need not be astonished from all this to find that Turkish words, like the one for Wu-wang's dagger, have crept into the Chinese language, which is as much mixed up with foreign elements as is Chinese civilization generally. I wish to lay stress on this idea, which, it appears to me, has not been sufficiently appreciated by the historians, although at this stage we can but faintly trace the foreign influences affecting the nation, which during later centuries, in spite of the well-known conservative character of Chinese culture, have assumed such dimensions as almost to amount to amalgamation". (For this interpretation of the word *ch'ing-lü* see p. 133 below).

Similar opinions influenced A. Tschepe (Tschepe 1911) who even had Yü the Great maintaining friendly relations with the Tartar khans. Tschepe contributed to the geography of the barbarians by summarizing in his book (Tschepe 1910, Appendice I, *Sur les Tartares et Autres Peuplades*, pp. 157--162) the information found in two Chinese geographies.

Views very similar to those held by Hirth can be seen in the work of O. Franke, both in his specialized study (Franke 1904) and in his extensive history of China

(Franke 1930). He believed the northern and north-western barbarians to be fighting mounted nomads (Vol. 1, p. 134), and thought the name Jung covered innumerable Tibetan and Turkish peoples (p. 38). He sought the name of the Huns in various transcriptions to be found, apparently, in sources of the Shang and Chou periods (p. 134). Finally he identified the name of the Hsiung-nu with the Hu. H. Cordier (1920) also identified the Hsien-yün, Hsün-yü and Shan Jung with the Hsiung-nu (Vol. 1, p. 204).

J. J. M. de Groot was an enthusiastic supporter of the theory that the northern barbarians were Hsiung-nu and Turks; in Part 1 of his long book (de Groot 1921) he translated the 110th chapter of *Shih-chi* mentioned above, and the parallel 94th chapter of *Han-shu*. De Groot accepted Edkins' identification of the name Ti with the name Türk and in the notes to his translation tried to prove that all the northern barbarians were nomads, Hsiung-nu, Huns and Turks. He tried to support this argument by a completely fanciful reconstruction of the old pronunciation of the names of these barbarians. It is a great weakness that apart from the two chapters he translated de Groot uses no other sources than *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Tso-chuan*. That he translated and made accessible the vast amount of material in these two chapters was of course an immense contribution to research.

A. Rosthorn (Rosthorn 1923) was much influenced by Hirth's theories when he traced the whole of Chinese civilization back to the culture of a nomad people living in the same way as the Turks and Tartars at the start of its development. F. E. A. Krause (1925) was already more cautious, believing the names Ti and Jung to be general (p. 282); he added that the name Pei Ti was as little limited to Turkish tribes as was the name Shan Jung to Tibetan (p. 283). The identity of Hsien-yün with the Hsiung-nu was accepted both by P. Pelliot (1929, p. 122) and R. Grousset (1939, p. 53). The relatively sober McGovern (1939, p. 88) identified the Ti with the Hsien-yün and saw in them the ancestors of the Hsiung-nu, whom he thought were a Turkish speaking people (p. 96). A. Conrady attempted to bolster up Hirth's hypothesis connecting the first Chou rulers with the Hsiung-nu by analyzing their names (G. Haloun 1924, p. 615, Note 1), but his work does not appear to have been published. A variant of the theory of the Turkish origin of the barbarian peoples was put forward by E. Erkes (Erkes 1954) who tried to find Tibetan tribes in the Ch'üan Jung (p. 10) and claimed to see traces of Tibetan in the *Shih-ching* songs. I refuted Erkes' theories in my review (Průšek 1955, pp. 221—224). O. Pritsak (1959) went back to Hirth's idea that the various names Hsün-yü, Hsien-yün, Ch'üan Jung etc. reveal a common root. He suggested that the old pronunciations of **kwan*, **gun*, **kun* etc. presented reproductions of the word **xun*, the real name of the Huns (p. 33). He thought Hsiung-nu was the name not of a people but of a dynasty. Pritsak thought the language of the Hsiung-nu was akin to old Bolgarian, a Turkish language represented today by Chuwash (Pritsak 1954, p. 248). His hypothesis was sharply refuted by O. Maenchen-Helfen (1961, pp. 249—261).

Taken to their furthest extreme, these theories (which go back ultimately to those of Hirth) appear in the hypotheses put forward by W. Eberhard, who believed Chinese culture to have arisen from the amalgamation of various local cultures. In the first version of this theory Eberhard (1938) distinguished the following cultures in the north and north-west: 1. a proto-Tungus culture in Ho-pei, northern Shan-hsi and northern Shantung; 2. a Turkish culture in northern Shen-hsi, western Shan-hsi and part of Kan-su; 3. a proto-Tibetan culture with its centre in Szu-ch'uan. In his second work (Eberhard 1942 A) he thought the bearers of the proto-Tibetan culture were the Jung, whom he believed were settled in the west but penetrated to the east into Chinese territory. He localized the Hsiung-nu, whom he regarded as Turks, in the northern part of Shen-hsi province. The Ti tribes in Shan-hsi were identified with the Tung-hu, i.e. proto-Mongols, and the proto-Tungus tribes were localized in the north-east. This does not appear to have been at all definitive as a scheme, for in his next book (1942 B) Eberhard placed (p. 127) the Hsiung-nu over the whole of Shen-hsi north of the River Wei, a region he formerly attributed to the Ch'iang, i.e. proto-Tibetan tribes. He now declared the whole of Shan-hsi up to the Yellow River to be the domain of the Shih-wei — his proto-Mongols — while the Tung-hu, another proto-Mongol branch, were assigned to north-eastern Shan-hsi and Jehol. This meant that Eberhard now identified the Ti tribes with the Shih-wei, whereas in his previous book they had been identified with the Tung-hu while the Shih-wei were localized far to the north. I gave a detailed analysis of the untenability of these hypotheses in my criticism of Eberhard's views (Průšek 1953 A) and my review of his History of China (Eberhard 1948) (Průšek 1953 B). I stressed above all that larger national and cultural units grow out of involved development, and the further we go back in history the greater the atomization of tribal and racial groups, differing in language and in culture, although the level of differentiation is of course in relation to the general cultural level (Průšek 1953 A, p. 63). The Polish scholar T. Milewski (1948) reached the same conclusion on the basis of linguistic analysis in different undeveloped regions. This fact is supported by the large numbers of names of tribes and countries found in Shang inscriptions. The number of these names is greater than in later sources, and many of them cannot be deciphered or localized today. At the beginning of the story we find no more than a horde of no great numbers. In the history of the Chinese nation, too, if we went further back into the past we would find that what we consider "Chinese territory" shrinks more and more until we come to no more than a few tribes from whose symbiosis grew the kernel of the Chinese nation (pp. 66—67). I also pointed out that nomadism, that is to say true nomadism based on horse breeding, is a highly specialized and later form of economy that cannot possibly be projected as far back as the third millennium, which is the time at which Eberhard assumes his local cultures to have existed. (Průšek 1953 A, p. 85). The greatest authority on Central Asian nomadism, Professor O. Lattimore, came to the same conclusion independently and much earlier (Lattimore 1962, p. 142 and passim). Eberhard's conception was also rejected by M. von Dewall (Dewall 1964, pp. 16—21).

Paying not the slightest attention to criticism of his conception from any quarter, Eberhard repeated his theory of the origin of Chinese culture in his study *The Growth of Chinese Civilization* printed in his collected works (Eberhard 1967, p. 9 and Notes); the only innovation being that here he speaks explicitly of ethnic groups (p. 19) although adding the cautious comment on p. 21 that "we do not presuppose that these peoples always spoke the languages which are today called Tibetan, Turkish or Mongolian, though we believe that such was often the case". He places the Tibetan group in Shen-hsi and Szu-ch'uan, but speaks of their penetrating Shan-hsi and Ho-nan as well. Kan-su and northern Shen-hsi are assigned to Turkish tribes, while the Mongols are to the east of them with no clear delimitation, and Tungus groups in Ho-pei and Manchuria. This is somewhat simpler than the earlier scheme; the proto-Mongolian Shih-wei have disappeared, the Turks have been moved further north and the boundaries of their settlement area, like those of the proto-Mongols, are no longer so clearly defined.

Looking through this long list of studies it is amazing to see how little material was used as the foundation for far-reaching hypotheses. I shall not repeat here all that I elaborated in my criticism of Eberhard's work, which can to some extent be applied to all the other studies and interpretations of the Tibetan, Turkish or Tungus origin of various tribes and their cultures. The surprising thing is that these scholars paid so little attention to the study of concrete facts in their deliberations, to linguistic material or to references to the culture of the tribes concerned although, as we shall see later, these facts can help to clarify their character even if they are but sparse. Most of the writers concerned were content with unfounded etymological hypotheses such as the identification of Ti with Türk, Hsien-yün with Hsün-yü, and Hsiung-nu with Hun. The real history of the tribes was not studied at all, nor could their real significance for Chinese history be assessed.

In the course of time a growing reaction made itself felt, against this single line of thought seeking connections between the northern barbarians and the nomads, and repeatedly between the former and the Turks and Mongols; in the end this contrary line of thought refuted almost all the arguments upon which the previous school had been built. In particular French scholars refused to accept a close connection between the inhabitants of the Yellow River basin and the cultures north of the Great Wall, and linked the civilization of northern China with the cultures of the farming peoples living along the Yang-tzu and south as far as Indo-China. This is the conception which informs the attitude of M. Granet to the origin of Chinese civilization, although he maintained extreme reserve in individual historical questions. He thought (Granet 1929, p. 87) that the names Jung and Ti were meant to designate the northern and western barbarians without precise significance. Nevertheless he exaggerates the importance of the Ti when he accepts the view that the power of the Chou was based on the support of the Ti, and that it was under pressure from the Ti that the Chou left Shen-hsi (Granet 1929, p. 90). H. Maspero categorically rejected the idea that there was a profound ethnical difference between the barbarians and the Chinese (Maspero 1927 A, pp. 10, 11 and Note 1); he considered the Ti and most of the Jung and other barbarians to be Chinese tribes whose development had lagged behind that of the Chinese proper, in their mountainous and marshy environments.

As for the places settled by the barbarians, Maspero accepted on the whole the opinions of Legge, together with his mistaken view that northern tribes such as the Hsien-yü and others were White Ti. Maspero was of the opinion that the Ti, in particular, had been settled in these parts ever since the dawn of history; it will be the purpose of this study to show that this traditional geographical situation was the result of a whole stream of barbarian migrations.

G. Haloun was the first to put forward the suggestion that the settlement of the Ti to the east of the River Fen in Shan-hsi was the consequence of migration of these tribes (1922). In this early review of de Groot's work mentioned above, Haloun rejected the identification of the Hsien-yün with the Hsiung-nu, and showed that there was no reference to the Hsiung-nu earlier than 318 B.C. Like Maspero he did not accept the view that the northern barbarians were of Turkish origin, except for the Hsiung-nu, and expressed his conviction that the majority of them were of Indo-Chinese origin. He suggested (p. 436) that the Ch'üan Jung were related to the Chinese clan Chiang, and that was true of many other tribes. He also suggested that settlement of the Ti tribes east of the Fen was the result of migration, the source of which he believed to have been in the Wei valley; he considered the motive force to have been pressure on the Ch'üan Jung by the Ch'in state, the former then setting the Ti tribes in motion.

Haloun came back to this question of the migration of the Ti in his next book (Haloun 1926), where he suggested in the Introduction (p. VI) that the force which set in motion the vast migrations of frontier tribes to the north and west of China in the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. was the arrival of Indo-European tribes on the borders of Kan-su. This set the Ch'üan Jung moving, and pushed them on to the Ti tribes. He also suggests that similar Indo-European migrations may have been the reason for the Chou movements in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, resulting in the domination of northern China by the Chou. On p. 53 he suggested the route followed by the migrating Ti, along the northern borders of the Chou kingdom in a north-easterly direction, putting the Ku-chu and Ling-chih on the move, and penetrating to the Chinese plains through the Hu-t'o valley. He suggests the further trend of this migration. We shall be dealing with Haloun's theory in more detail in later chapters; his sketch shares the shortcomings of all his studies: too many facts packed into his lapidary sentences, and too little elaboration of the line of argument. He gives no proof, for example, that the Ti had not always lived in the east, as Chinese tradition has it and Maspero believed. Under the influence of the old tradition Haloun, too, considered the Hsien-yü and other northern tribes as White Ti (p. 105). In this book, too, Haloun stresses (p. 130) that the Hsiung-nu did not appear before the year 318, and believes they will prove to have been no more ancient than any of the equestrian peoples of the Gobi desert.

In the last work he devoted to this problem (Haloun 1937) Haloun's main purpose was to find the earliest references to the Yüeh-chih in the Chinese sources.

He believed that the name Yü-chih (7) in *I Chou shu* was a transcription of the name Yüeh-chih, and that Niu-shih (or chih) (8) in *Kuan-tzu*, Yü-chih (9) in *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan*, etc. were others. He concluded that before 299 B.C. the Yüeh-chih were settled where the Huang-ho turns east in Ordos. The region of the Ordos animal style is linked directly with the Yüeh-chih who are said to have brought it with them (p. 305). Once again Haloun put forward the idea that it was the migration of the Yüeh-chih to the western borders of China that was behind the invasions of the Ti and Shan-jung into eastern China. The area in which this pressure was felt by the Ti he believed to be the valley of the River Ching (Ching-shuei) (10), on the great route from Lan-chou to the valley of the Wei (p. 311). The name Yüeh-chih he interpreted as a form of the earlier **zguja* or **zgujaka*, which he believed was a transcription of the name Scyth. He also interpreted the name Hsien-yün as a transcription of the name of the Cimmerians.

As far as the new transcriptions of the name Yüeh-chih is concerned, which Haloun believed he had found in Chinese sources, it should not be forgotten that it is not necessary in all the cases he quotes to look for a two-syllable foreign word behind the Chinese transcription. *Shih* (11) in the sense of clan or tribe was often added to monosyllabic tribal names, e.g. Lu shih (12), the Lu tribe, in *Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan 15, Ch Cl V, p. 325; or Chia shih (13), the Chia tribe, *Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan 16, Ch Cl V, p. 329. On the other hand there is nothing surprising in the appearance of the name Yüeh-chih, in these sources, a people who – as we shall see – had probably been settled as neighbours of the Chinese from time immemorial.

Haloun's suggested etymologies were generally rejected. Mänchen-Helfen (1945) proved convincingly that the only name which could be behind various transcriptions of the name Yüeh-chih would have to be something like *ngiwot-ts'ie*, *ngiwat-t'ia* or *ngiu t'ieg*, which cannot be anything but Kusha. Kusha-Asii were the ruling group in a tribe called something like Togar.

Similarly Haloun's suggested etymology for Hsien-yün (p. 318, Note 1) is only based on the assumption that the second part of this name **ziwin* is apparently a general term designating the western barbarians. It is claimed as related to the word *jen* (14) archaic **snien*, "man". The first part of the name, archaic **ziam*, may perhaps have been pronounced **kam*. Even if we could accept Haloun's etymology, we would be forced to reject his identification of the Hsien-yün with the Cimmerians on historical grounds. I have already pointed out above that we must reject all hypotheses which do not take into account the historical context. And we can hardly imagine that at the time when equestrian nomadism was only just coming into being, one and the same people could be found at two places so far apart as southern Russia and western China. J. Harmatta (1948) also rejected Haloun's interpretation (p. 97): "D'autre part, ni la théorie de A. Herrmann ni celle de G. Haloun ne resistent à la critique".[1]

On the other hand Haloun was obviously quite right to reject the widely accepted identification of the name Hsien-yün with the Hsiung-nu. Karlgren, who had earlier (Karlgren 1936, p. 44) referred to the Hsien-yün as Huns, later (Karlgren 1945 B, p. 142) on the basis of a comparison of the old forms of the names Hsien-yün, Hsün-yü and Hsiung-nu declared that "Hsien-yün can in no way be attested as having been proto-Hsiung-nu". Two of Haloun's earlier studies dealing with the history and settlement of various Chinese clans (Haloun 1923 and Haloun 1924) are beyond the scope of our subject. We shall return to another of Haloun's studies, dealing with the earliest history of the Chou dynasty, when we come to the problem of the Ch'üan Jung.

It is not without significance for our discussion that the contribution of the Turkish ethnic element to the origin of various barbarian tribes in northern China and to the formation of ancient Chinese civilization, which has generally been assumed to be considerable, now appears smaller and smaller if not quite insignificant. As I have already noted, both Haloun and Maspero rejected the idea that the tribes inhabiting northern China might be of Turkish origin, but now it appears more and more likely that not even the Hsiung-nu belonged to the Turkish language group. The identification of the Hsiung-nu with the historical Huns has been proved beyond doubt (Henning W. B. 1948), but nevertheless the opinion is gaining ground that their language was not Turkish. L. Ligeti had already (1950) declared (p. 142) that the language of the Hsiung-nu was still practically unknown or rather that it could not be linked for certain with any of the known languages of Central Asia, in spite of the many glosses which have come down to us in Chinese transcription. He based his argument on the word *so-to*, which meant a slipper in Hsiung-nu, and which was probably pronounced *sâk-dâk* in ancient times; it inevitably reminds us of the barbarian word *saγ-daγ*. Ligeti traced the etymology of this word in the language of the Ostyaks of Yenisej, where a slipper is called *sagdi* in the Imbatsk dialect and *sagdi* in another. Ligeti also pointed out the many cultural words in the Turkish languages which are not of Turkish origin, nor explicable in terms of neighbouring languages. He wondered whether they were not traces of one or more extinct languages which, in his view, it might be possible to connect with the paleo-Asian tongues. He suggested that the Yenisej languages could be classified as paleo-Asian, and that perhaps the Hsiung-nu language could also be so classified. Professor Ligeti declined to draw far-reaching conclusions from a single case, but there can be no doubt that this suggestion, coming from one of the best authorities on the Altaic languages, deserves serious consideration. (Cf. Průšek 1955, pp. 214—216).

E. G. Pulleyblank (1963, p. 265) came to a similar conclusion from the analysis of a number of words: "My study of some of the Hsiung-nu words appearing in Chinese transcription leads to the following conclusions: (1) the evidence for the existence of initial *r* and *l* and initial clusters in Hsiung-nu makes it most unlikely

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[1] A. Herrmann based his theory on the fact that in the Babylonian version of the Darius inscriptions the Saki are called Cimmerians. In a late Chinese source dating from the sixth century A. D., *Lun Fo piao* (15) by Hsün-chi (16), the Saki are said to be the descendants of the Yün barbarians (17). Naturally no value at all attaches to hypotheses based on such late speculations.

that it was an Altaic language; (2) a number of words for which the meaning is given or can be inferred correspond quite closely to words of the same or similar meaning in the Yenissej languages — among them the words for "son", "milk", "stone" may be especially noted as being unlikely to be loan-words in Yenisseian; (3) certain Hsiung-nu titles (and also the words for "heaven", "sour milk" and "kumiss") can be traced later in Mongolian or Turkish or both. The simplest hypothesis to explain these facts is that the Hsiung-nu spoke a language of the Yenissei family and that the Mongolians and Turks who followed them as masters of the eastern steppes inherited elements of culture and political organization with the corresponding names.

This hypothesis based on linguistic evidence must be tested by reference to other types of evidence, particularly archaeological (cf. Jettmar 1952)".

I feel that the results of Pulleyblank's research bring to an end the long discussion about Turkish elements in the barbarians settled in northern China and the share of the Turks in the ethnogenesis of the Chinese people, which I have endeavoured to outline briefly here. Naturally a number of quite new problems arise for us in consequence.

Studies by Chinese scholars

II

There are far fewer studies devoted to the barbarians of ancient China by Chinese scholars themselves than by European sinologists. For the Chinese scholar of old the problem of the ethnogenesis of his own nation simply did not exist; the Chinese had inhabited their homeland from time immemorial. The study of barbarian languages spoken by China's neighbours had made little progress and roused no curiosity as to features distinguishing one tribe from another, or whether they were in any way related.

Modern Chinese research into the barbarians in ancient China seems to have begun with Wang Kuo-wei's study, "Research into the land of the Kuei-fang, K'un I and Hsien-yün" (Wang Kuo-wei 1923 A).

According to Wang Kuo-wei the various tribes settled on the borders of China had no script, and so the Chinese gave them various names, often pejorative in character. Wang thought (p. 11a) that Jung and Ti were Chinese and not the original names of alien tribes. In the name Jung he saw originally the designation of arms, and thought it meant: "those who attack others with arms". Ti originally meant "far off" and was written (1); it meant that they were to be driven far away.

On the other hand, names like Kuei-fang (2), K'un I (3) and such were the original names of those peoples, although *fang* and *I* were of course Chinese terminals.

Wang opened with an investigation of the Kuei-fang, whom he placed to the west of the original home of the Chou, near the Ch'i mountain (4); he believed, however, that that they were also settled to the north-east of Chou territory. Their territory was apparently identical with that of the K'un I and Hsien-yün. We shall show below that Wang treated his sources with some inaccuracy. Besides analysing the references in the sources, Wang paid special attention to the inscription on *Hsiao Yü t'ing* (5) describing an expedition against the Kuei-fang.

Wang (p. 3b) interprets the name Kuei as identical with Wei (6), which he considers the older form.

He then proceeds to examine the connection between the Kueifang and the K'un I and Hsien-yün. Pointing out that at the end of the Chou period there was a country of Wei (7) and a Ti clan of the same name, he declared that the Wei clan were the ancestors of all the Ti and that therefore their name, like the name for their country, was derived from ancient Wei (6). We are forced to conclude that Wang identifies the Ti with the older Kuei Jung (8). Wang then maintains that the name Wei appears in the form of Kuei (9), considering the name K'uei

(10) as yet another transcription. These identifications are of course based solely on similarities in the modern pronunciation of these characters, and are therefore not convincing proof.

As for the name K'un I, Wang gives the different variants of the name found in old sources without examining them carefully to determine whether they are all transcriptions of one and the same name; for instance, the question of whether we can identify Kun Jung (11) in accounts of the campaigns of Duke Mu of Ch'in (659–621 B.C.) in the 110th chapter of *Shih-chi* with the ancient Ch'üan Jung (12).

Wang Kuo-wei's remark that the introduction of the Hsün-yü into accounts of the beginnings of the Chou dynasty is an innovation, appears to me to be significant. The name is not found in old legends, but took the place of the name Kun I, mentioned e.g. by Meng-tzu (Ch Cl II, p. 31). From these sober deductions Wang-Kuo-wei suddenly leaps to unsubstantiated conclusions (p. 6b): "Looking at it from the point of view of historical fact and that of geography, the Kun I are another name for the Wei I and are the ancestors of the Hsien-yün; the proof is not merely phonetic". Here the author arbitrarily confuses three quite distinct tribal groups, the Ch'üan Jung, Kuei Jung and Hsien-yün.

Wang Kuo-wei correctly points out that the name Hsün-yü (1 4) is not found in older sources, appearing for the first time in Meng-tzu, nevertheless he maintains that the name Hsün (13) and (14) existed before that of the Hsien-yün and was identical with Kun (15), (16). The word Hsien (17), according to him, has the same opening (18) but the rhyme group (19) has changed. In order to determine where the Hsien-yün had their home, Wang analysed three inscriptions where they are mentioned, and puts forward a number of interpretations to which we shall return at the appropriate points in our discussion. He also compares the inscriptions with the corresponding songs in *Shih-ching.*

He stresses that later on there are no more references to the Hsien-yün, while the sources mention only the Ti and the Jung. His claim that the name Ch'üan Jung did not exist in older times and only appeared in such later works as *Tso-chuan* and *Kuo-yü* is quite incorrect, for the name occurs frequently in Shang inscriptions. Wang identifies the Ch'üan Jung with the Hsien-yün and the T'ai-yüan Jung (20), suggesting that in later times all these barbarians were called Ch'üan Jung. It would not be logical to assume that the Hsien-yün, who were responsible for such confusion under the I (21) and Hsüan (22) kings, suddenly disappeared altogether. The most powerful of the barbarian tribes, the Ch'üan Jung, in his view are the Hsien-yün, while the other Jung tribes, called "unrully men of the clan called 'Yün' (23), are also Hsien-yün."

In the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period the name Jung disappeared and Ti is found. Wang discussed various clan names which were attached to the name Ti and decided that all bearers of the name Wei (7) came from the old home of the White Ti in the west. Wang is one of the few scholars to have realized that the name White Ti referred to tribes settled in the west. He said explicitly (p. 12b): "The Red

Ti were exterminated by the Chin, but the White Ti lived cut off in the west and were not in contact with China. The designations Jung and Ti became interchangeable".

Only later, are we told, when the various feudal states again came into contact with the barbarians, were the original names of the tribes used and not the terms Jung or Ti. Thus the names Hu and Hsiung-nu first occurred in Chinese history. The realization that they were the same as the Hsün-yü or the Hsien-yün tribes, however, is apparent in the conception of the chapter about the Hsiung-nu in Szu-ma Ch'ien's book.

I have dealt with Wang Kuo-wei's ideas in some detail, although they were reported briefly by P. Pelliot (1929). Wang's book shows the state and the methods of Chinese research in this field at the time when the new Chinese historiography was being formed; his views and methods were a profound influence on subsequent Chinese research. The predominance of the philological approach — etymologizing — over purely historical method is striking; — by the historical approach I mean of course the linking and explaining of facts in their temporal and causal relationships. Naturally particular attention must also be paid to geographical aspects, the correct localization of events, and the conclusions arising from this. The phonetic similarity of two or more names tells us nothing if it does not fit into the temporal and spatial context.

Wang's ideas clearly influenced the article by Ku Chieh-kang (Ku Chieh-kang 1929) who also (p. 976 Note) identifies the Kuei-fang and the Ch'üan Jung, giving Wang as his authority. This study was reprinted in Ku Chieh-kang 1931. Wu Ch'i-ch'ang also drew on Wang's work in his penetrating study of the chronology of bronzes and particularly his interpretation of inscriptions referring to the invasion of China by the Hsien-yün under King Hsüan (Wu Ch'i-ch'ang 1929). We shall deal with this study in detail in our analysis of references to the Hsien-yün.

The work of Fang T'ing (Fang T'ing 1934) represents a deterioration compared with that of Wang Kuo-wei, on which it is based, but with considerable confusion of ideas. Fang T'ing gives Wang Kuo-wei as his authority for the statement that the Kuei-fang, Kun I and Hsien-yün were Ti tribes, and refers to the quotation in *Chu-shu chi-nien* about the campaign against the Kuei Jung (8) during which twenty Ti kings were captured. These our author declares to have been western tribes, while the reference to the emperor Kao Tsung of the Shang dynasty, who subjugated the Kuei-fang, refers to the eastern tribes who later became known as the Red Ti. The western Ti were called the White Ti, and some of them settled in the north. The Hsien-yü (24) were exterminated by Chung-shan (25) (!). Among the eight countries conquered by Duke Mu of Ch'in there were also Ti, but these were White Ti, we are told. Even the Kun Jung (26) and the Jung of Ta-li (27) were Ti tribes. There were Ti tribes settled to the east even before the Shang dynasty overthrew the Hsia. Fang T'ing believes that the T'ai-yüan mentioned in references to the Hsien-yün was the marchland Shang-chün (28), the home of the White Ti, of which we shall speak later in this connection. He concludes that the territory from which the Hsien-yün came was around Shang-chün. On the whole these are acceptable conclusions, but Fang goes on to say that in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period it was the territory of Tai (29); this is of course impossible, because Tai lay far to the north-east.

There are many comments on various barbarian tribes in the book by Lü Szu-mien (Lü Szu-mien 1934). Dealing with the settlement of the Me tribes (30) Lü discusses the geographical background of the poem Han-yi (31) in *Shih-ching* (Ch Cl IV, pp. 546 ff), which we shall be returning to in another connection. He puts forward the suggestion that the White and the Red Ti may have differed in dress, and points out that in his commentary to *Tso-chuan*, Chao year 12, Tu Yü (32) declared that the Hsien-yü were White Ti and that the state of Fei (33) also belonged to the White Ti. Here we seem to be at the birth of the idea that (as we have seen) coloured the attitude of almost all European and Chinese scholars on the subject of the settlement of the Ti. Lü also believed this view to be correct; he thought that the Ch'iang-kao-ju (34) were not Ti, and that besides the Red and the White Ti there were a number of smaller tribes. He also quotes a number of commentaries which identify the Wu-chung (35), Pei Jung (36) and Shan Jung (37) tribes as one. Whereas Han geographers thought the land of the Wu-chung was in Chi district (38) near present-day Peking, Lü thought this tribe must have been settled somewhere round the Chin state; as for the Pei Jung, he shows that they attacked states in what is now Ho-nan, so that they could not have lived in the neighbourhood of the state of Yen. He explains these discrepancies by suggesting that originally these tribes overran an extensive territory but were gradually subjugated by different states, until by the Chan-kuo period they survived only in the neighbourhood of Yen.

Probably the most important Chinese study of the barbarians after that of Wang Kuo-wei was that of Meng Wen-t'ung (Meng Wen-t'ung 1937), whose fundamental theory is reminiscent of Haloun's in some aspects: the northern Ti were settled in Shen-hsi and moved eastwards under pressure from the Ch'in and Chin states, just as the western Jung inhabiting the region east of the Ch'in moved to the basins of the I (39) and the Lo (40) in Ho-nan. Following Wang Kuo-wei's example he identifies the Hsün-yü and the Hsien-yün with the Ti and with the Kuei-fang as well, accepting as sufficient proof the fact that the Red Ti had the clan name Wei (7). He quotes the commentary to *Shih-pen*, where it is said that in Han times the Kuei-fang were Jung from Hsien-ling (41); because they lived in the Huang region (42) (a river in Kan-su) and the Shan district (43) (also in Kan-su), they were called Hsi-lo Kuei-Jung (44), "the Kuei Jung of the western tribes". The author identifies the Kun I (3) with the western Jung and looks for their home to the west of the Ching river (45), while the Ti would be to the north of the Ching. The fact that in the poem Han-yi (31) (Ch Cl IV, pp. 546ff) we are told that the king gave a Han duke the Chui (46) and Me (30) tribes (p. 551), described as being "northern lands", is sufficient proof for this writer that the Ti had not yet settled in the north of the Han state in the reign of King Hsüan (827—782). Later both the Chui and the Me, according to Meng, moved eastwards, pressed by the Hsien-yün. He places the Ti settlements in Shen-hsi province, believing that they lived to the east of the River Lo and along both banks of the Yellow River. We shall return later to the question of the boundaries of Ti settlement in Shen-hsi. Discussing the date at which the Ti migrated eastward, Meng pointed out that when the Ti attacked the Ch'iang-kao-ju (34) and on account of Ch'ung-erh (47) the future Chin marquis Wen (636-628) fought the Chin at the Ts'ai-sang ford (48) west of Hsiang-ning hsien (49) in Shan-hsi, they must still have been settled in the west. When the Red Ti were exterminated they were already living in the east of Chin. Meng therefore dates the migration of the Ti to the east to the period of the dukes Chuang (693—662) and Min (661—660). We must point out that the logic of this argument is at fault; the Ti who were allied with Ch'ung-erh were the White Ti, settled in the west, while the Ch'iang-kao-ju were Red Ti, and the White Ti could attack them even if they did live somewhere to the north or north-east of Chin. This is a point we shall take up again later. Meng also included the Hsien-yü, Fei and Ku tribes (50) among the White Ti, declaring that they had moved east in the time of Hsiang (572—542) and Chao (541—510). The historical impossibility of this chronology escaped him. Nor does his statement that the Ti no longer existed to the west of Chin after this date correspond to the facts. While it is true that after the year 545 B.C. we do not hear of any political activity by the Western Ti, this does not mean that they had ceased to exist or that they had migrated eastwards, as we shall show later.

Meng places the Kao-lo Ti (51) near Kao-lo shan to the east of Lo-p'ing hsien (52) in Shan-hsi, a theory that we shall deal with at the appropriate moment; he accepts at their face value the references to the Sou-man (53) and Ch'ang Ti (54), identifying the latter with the Jung settled round Lu, which probably meant the Ts'ao Jung (55). They are said to have moved north and been called Ch'ang Ti.

Meng also dealt with references to the Pei Jung, whom he placed in the region of the T'ai-hang Mountains, suggesting that when the Ti settled there they absorbed the Pei Jung. He rejected Tu Yü's view that the Pei Jung were identical with the Shan Jung, but included the Tai (29) among the Pei Jung. In Meng's opinion the Ti migrated from Shen-hsi and settled north of Chin, then settled in T'ai-hang in Shan-hsi and Ho-pei, finally penetrating into Ho-nan and controlling the centre of Shan-tung, which all shows their power. Meng also tried to explain why the Wu-chung (35) settlements are sometimes said to be round Peking while in the *Tso-chuan* we read of a clash between the Wu-chung and the Chin near T'ai-yüan, working out an elaborate theory that the Wu-chung first moved from the region east of Peking to the north of Tai and then to the west, to the borders between the Ch'in and the Han. He touched on the question of the Big and Little Jung (56), but dealt in detail with the history of the Hsien-yü and the Chung-shan, in whom he saw the White Ti, whom he supposed had migrated eastwards after the extermination of the Red Ti.

Meng clearly realised that the settlement of the Ti in the east was the outcome of a complicated migratory movement, but when it came to the details nothing was so improbable as to be unacceptable, and he did not bother to distinguish between what was possible and what was not.

Meng rewrote his study as a book (Meng 1958), but it cannot be said that this represented any improvement. His original correct theory that there was a certain shift to the east among the barbarian tribes is carried to absurdity by being made to serve in doubtful and even quite impossible cases. He makes an equally absurd impression by his frequent attempts to identify one group of barbarians with another without any serious argument for the assertion.

According to Meng the chief cause of this general migration of the barbarians from the west to the east was a drought which he believes lasted for about 150 years, from the time of King Li to that of King P'ing (9—8th centuries). This is based on the hypothesis put forward by Ellsworth Huntington, but Meng seems to have gone further than Huntington ever intended . He quotes the *Tso-chuan*, Chao year 16 (Ch Cl V, p. 662) to support his assumption that the Cheng (57) had migrated eastwards in the time of Duke Huan (806—771). It is quite clear, however, that the report in the *Tso-chuan* refers to a general movement away from the Wei valley in consequence of the collapse of the Chou, and not as the result of migration due to natural catastrophe. This is a good illustration of the author's irresponsible approach to his material.

Meng quotes a Buddhist work dating from the 6th century, where Jung with the surname Yün (23) were said to be Sacae; he goes on to accept the view that these Jung were the Hsien-yün, and to identify the Hsien-yün with the Kuei-fang and Ch'üan Jung. He points out that under King Hsüan the Jung, surnamed Yün, moved eastwards from Kua-chou (58) and attacked Chou territory. Later they got as far as Honan. Meng repeats his earlier deductions about Ti migration to the east, and his assumption that the "Tall Ti", Ch'ang Ti, were Jung, as well as his theories that the Hsien-yü were White Ti and that they migrated eastwards after the extermination of the Red Ti.

Little that is new was presented by the synthetizing works of Chien Po-tsan (1946) and Fan Wen-lan (1950). The former believed that the tribes living to the north of the Great Wall were Ti, and that the strongest of them were the Hsien-yü. Fan Wen-lan listed the barbarian groups living on the Chinese borders; like Wang Kuo-wei he believed the names Jung and Ti to be of Chinese origin — they were the Chinese names for peoples who called themselves Kuei (fang), Kun(I) or Ch'üan (Jung), Hsün-yü and Hsien-yün. The name Ti he assigned to barbarians living to the north of the Great Wall and even as far north as Siberia, believing them to have used microliths. Fan Wen-lan placed the Me (30) to the north-east, the Sou-man (53) to the north of Chi-nan-fu (59), while the original home of the Ch'üan Jung (12) is given as Hsi-ning district (60) in Ch'ing-hai from where one tribe is thought to have migrated later to Feng-hsiang-hsien (61) in Shen-hsi. He correctly located the White Ti in Shen-hsi. Fan Wen-lun believed some of these peoples to have been quite alien, while others were old Chinese families who had provided chiefs for barbarian tribes, others were barbarian tribes which had become Chinese in their ways.

Li Ya-nung (1956) expressed very out-of-date views on the White Ti, placing them to the north of the Red Ti although in other respects his account of Ti history is exact and satisfactory. The most recent work on our subject which has come to my notice is that of Ma Ch'ang-shou (1962), who based his views on those of Wang Kuo-wei and particularly on Meng's book, accepting his theories on most points. It is significant, however, that Ma passes over in silence Meng's hypothesis that there was a general movement of barbarian tribes from west to east. Ma is the principal Chinese scholar dealing with the northern barbarians to hold the "Altaic" theory; he believes the Ti to have spoken an Altaic language and their home to have been in the Mongolian steppes. The name Ti he thinks was an abbreviation of Ti-li (62) or Ting-ling (63), which would be transcriptions of the word Türk. His main argument is that among the Ting-ling clans, one of the "five barbarians" (64), i.e. one of the Hsiung-nu tribes which founded sixteen different statelets in northern China between 304 and 439, there are clan names which resemble Ti tribal names, like Ti (65), Hsien-yü (66) and others. Ma would have the Ti settled originally on the plateaux of Shen-hsi and Shan-hsi and the eastern part of T'ai-hang in Ho-pei, spreading later to the plains of Ho-pei. He obviously rejects Meng's theory that the Ti migrated from Shen-hsi to the east. Ma connects the division of the Ti into White and Red with shamanistic practices among the Mongol tribes, who believed the different colours represented the quarters of the globe. The arguments he puts forward in support of these ideas are very weak, in fact no more than the account of the Hun horses coloured according to the quarters of the globe during the siege of the Han emperor Kao Tsu in Ma I in 200 B.C. (see de Groot 1921, pp. 63ff). Ma believes that in the Shang period there were Kuei-fang in central Shan-hsi, and that in the time of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* these Kuei-fang were Ti, surnamed Wei. Thus Ma considers the Red Ti to be the direct descendants of the Kuei-fang. He then asks whether the White Ti were not the descendants of the X tribe (67), who were settled in Ordos and northern Shen-hsi. The pronunciation of this character has not yet been determined, and the only argument to be put forward is the similarity between the character Yin (68), the name of the river near which the White Ti lived, and the name of the X tribe (67). Ma accepts Meng's thesis that the Ch'iang-kao-ju migrated and identifies the Li-t'u Jung (69) with the Li-shan Jung (70). He believes the Ti culture to have been that of a nomad people gradually changing over to a settled way of life. His assumption that the Ti were horsemen is based on a somewhat incorrectly quoted passage from *Kuan-tzu*, Han-fen-lou edition ch. 8, Hsiao-k'uang (71) p. 11a.

In his recent work (1965) Ch'en P'an tries to bring Ku Tung-kao's synthesis (I 2) up to date, as it was included in the *Ch'un-ch'iu ta shih piao* (I 1), but he puts forward little that is new, contenting himself for the most part with uncritical acceptance of the ideas of Wang Kuo-wei. Ch'en P'an believes in the identification of the Kuei Jung and the Ti, and like Wang Kuo-wei identifies the Kuei Jung with the Ch'üan Jung, Hsün-yü, Hsien-yün and others. As a collection of information on the Ch'üan Jung this book is of value, but great caution is needed in drawing on it.

Among works by Chinese writers which have a bearing on our subject are those concerned with ancient geography, as well as attempts to decipher geographical names in old inscriptions and to localize the places referred to. Naturally there is an extensive epigraphical literature to take into account, and only those works which are closely related to our subject matter can be given here. We shall pass over the work of Ch'ien Mu (1931), based on the altogether fantastic idea that the original home of the Chou was the Shan-hsi of today, and treating all matters of ancient geography in that light. This theory, which was surprisingly favourably received by other Chinese scholars, was firmly rejected by Ch'i Szu-ho (1946), who also drew up a number of correct critical principles which will be of value to us in this study. He stressed the danger of localizing old place names on the evidence of ancient monuments; as he pointed out, the same monuments, attributed to various historical personages, appear in various places and are thus of no value in determining the real site of a place. Even more dangerous, in Ch'i Szu-ho's view, is the evidence provided by phonetic similarity in names. He deduced that for the localization of place names the most useful information comes from the names of mountains and rivers. Analyzing references to the origin of the Chou he pointed out their connections with the western Ch'iang (72). The Chi clans (73) (the Chou clan) and the Chiang clans (74) which obviously belonged to the Ch'iang tribes are repeatedly mentioned in the sources as being fraternal clans. Ch'i studied the gradual expansion of the Chou but did not refer to their wars against the barbarians, particularly the Mi (75) and the Ch'üan Jung. It is also worthy of note that he did not attempt a more definite localization of the home of the Ch'üan Jung. On the other hand he stressed the importance of the conquest of the state of Li (A 1), which he thought was a significant strategic move made by the Chou against the Shang. Ch'i pointed out that the account of the setting up of three regents *chien* (76) for the conquered Shang territory is based on *I Choushu*, chap. Tso Lo (77) (ed. Szu-pu-pei yao, ch. 5, p. 7a). Of great value is the list of lands distributed as fiefs at the beginning of the Chou period (p. 97); it gives us some idea of the extent of the Chou kingdom immediately after the defeat of the Shang, and thus in retrospect some idea of the extent of the Shang kingdom. Ch'i does not include Yen in this list. He, too, accepts the hypothesis put forward by Huntington, that there was a catastrophic drought towards the end of the period of the Western Chou.

An extensive summary of geographical information from Shang oracle tablets is contained in the relevant chapters of Wu Tse (1949), pp. 24ff. For every country mentioned in these inscriptions Wu Tse gives the most important references, and by investigating the mutual relations between the countries attempts to determine at least the region in which they must have lain. He then gives a succession of brief monographies on individual tribes, the most important for our purposes being the passages dealing with the Ch'iang (pp. 28ff), Chou and Ch'üan (pp. 31 ff), Kuei-fang (pp. 33ff) etc. Wu Tse's book is a very clear review of the geographical problems posed by the Shang inscriptions.

An unfinished book by Ting Shan (1956) gives explanations of the names of different tribes, countries and clans. Particularly important for us is the passage dealing with the Ch'üan Jung (p. 115), in which the author shows that the Duke of Ch'üan was one of the Shang feudal aristocrats of the inner region (78), and that efforts to describe the Ch'üan as barbarians, as commentators of the Confucian writings tended to do, are not justified. This tendency can already be seen in Szu-ma Ch'ien, who dealt with the Ch'üan Jung in the chapter devoted to the Hsiung-nu.

The voluminous work by Ch'en Meng-chia (1956) presents a large collection of Shang inscriptions, and devotes a special chapter (pp. 249ff) to Shang geography. On pp. 269ff the author analyses the references to various tribes and territories round the Shang kingdom, but unfortunately his identifications suffer from those very weaknesses against which Ch'i Szu-ho issued his warning. Ch'en all too often bases his identification on mere phonetic similarities; he does not attempt a systematic interpretation of all the available evidence, nor does he bear in mind the geographical context. For instance, following the theory put forward by Ch'ien Mu (1931), Ch'en seeks the original home of the Chou in southern Shan-hsi, east of the Yellow River and south of the River Fen. (p. 292). Similarly he places the home of the of the Ch'üan Jung in Shan-hsi, near the town of K'un-tu (79), in the south of Lin Fen district (80) (p. 294). On the other hand, if taken in sufficiently critical spirit, Ch'en's work has a great deal of important material to offer.

There is a very thorough analysis of Shang tablets giving geographical information, in Li Hsüeh-ch'in (1959), whose painstaking comparison of all the information given delimits the Shang territory and determines the position of the various places mentioned, at least in their relation to other places. Li puts forward the surprising hypothesis that the people mentioned by name on the famous Duke Yü tripod (II 3) were not the Kuei (II 2) as has generally been thought, but another people whose name is written in a similar way. Unfortunately Li does not produce any arguments for his supposition, which he introduces on p. II of his Foreword, and so we must wait and see whether further research proves or disproves it. This book, too, presents very important material which we shall be returning to later.

I cannot deal with the numerous works on archaeology and on bronzes, for lack of space, but where use has been made of them they are referred to at the relevant points. There are two major works on Chinese archaeology, in English, the three volumes by Chêng Tê-k'un (1959–1963) and the book by Chang Kwang-chih (1963). The basic work on bronze inscriptions is that of Kuo Mo-jo (1957).

This survey of the European and Chinese studies dealing with relations between the Chinese and the barbarians shows, I believe, that a critical summary and assessment of the existing material would be needed, for us to have firmer ground on which to approach the study of questions relevant to our theme.

The legends about the Sou-man in eastern China

III

In our investigation of the probable consequences of the revolutionary process in the steppe zone during the first centuries of the first millennium B.C. as experienced in northern China, we should perhaps start with the most striking of those consequences, the migration of the Ti tribes; we have already mentioned that G. Haloun drew attention to this phenomenon. The first question it is essential to answer is whether the traditional geographers were right in localizing some Ti tribes to the east of the state of Chin from the outset, i.e. to the east of the Fen basin in Shan-hsi; or whether G. Haloun was right in assuming that Ti settlement of these eastern parts was the consequence of migration. Since Professor Haloun himself did not attempt to prove that the Ti were not to be found in the east before the sixties of the seventh century B.C., the task devolves on us.

The chief argument is undoubtedly that *ex silentio*. For sixty years recorded in detail in the chronicles *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Tso-chuan* (from the year 722) we hear nothing of the existence of the Ti in eastern Shan-hsi. Then all at once, in 662, they begin a terrific attack on the eastern states, continuing practically every year with invasion campaigns, up to the date of their final extermination in 588. The sudden attack on the states of Hsing (1) and Wei (2), which we shall be dealing with in detail, gives the impression of an invasion by newcomers to the scene, and it is highly improbable that such militant tribes would remain peaceful for sixty years and then begin a series of repeated invasions which ceased only when the tribes themselves ceased to exist.

In *Tso-chuan*, however, Wen 11th year (Ch Cl V. 1, p. 257)* a strange account of the Sou-man (II 53) is given, from which it could be deduced that the Ti were attacking Chinese states even before the year 662. To the account of the invasion of Ch'i by the Ti and their defeat by the army of Lu near Hsien (3) in the year 616, which is given in *Ch'un-ch'iu*, *Tso-chuan* adds the following: "The Sou-man made an incursion into Ch'i and then came on to attack us. The duke consulted the tortoise-shell about sending Shu-sun Te-ch'en (4) to pursue them, and received a favourable reply. Hou Shu-hsia (5) was charioteer to Chuang-shu (6) (Te-ch'en); Mien Fang-shang (7) was spearman on the right, and Fu-fu Chung-sheng (8) went in the same chariot. In winter, in the tenth month, on *chia-wu* the general defeated the Ti in Hsien, and captured a giant Ti called Ch'iao-ju

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* Here, as elsewhere in this study, the quotations are from the Chinese text and not the English translation.

(9). Fu-fu Chung-sheng smote him in the throat with his spear, and killed him. They buried his head by the Tzu-chü gate (10), and the general named one of his sons, known afterwards as Hsüan po (11), after him". There is yet another allusion to the defeat of the Ti near Hsien in *Tso-chuan* (Hsiang 9th year, Ch Cl p. 552), but here the number of giants captured has swollen to three.

"Before this, in the time of Duke Wu of Sung (765-748 B.C.) the Sou-man invaded Sung and the Minister of Instruction, Huang-fu Ch'ung-shih (12) led a force against them, with Erh Pan (13) as his charioteer, Kung-tzu Ku-sheng (14) the spearman on his right, and Niu-fu (15) the Minister of Crime in the same chariot. He defeated the Ti at Ch'ang-ch'iu (16) and captured a giant, called Yüan-szu (17). The two sons of Huang-fu were killed and the duke of Sung rewarded Erh Pan with the revenues collected at one of the barrier gates, from which he was called Erh-men (18). When Chin extinguished Lu (19), Fen-ju (20), a younger brother of Ch'iao-ju, was taken. In the second year of Duke Hsiang of Ch'i (696 B.C.) the Sou-man had invaded Ch'i when Ch'eng-fu (21), a king's son who was serving in Ch'i, captured Yung-ju (22), a younger brother still, and buried his head by the north gate of Chou-shou (23); and afterwards the people of Wei (2) captured the third younger brother, Chien-ju (24). After all these captures, the Sou-man became extinct."

This does not give the impression of a reliable historical narrative, but rather that of a combination of related legends. It would be impossible for a man who died in the year 696 B.C. to be the brother of one killed in 594. Szu-ma Ch'ien recognized the lack of logic in this and changed the date of the invasion of Ch'i to the second year of Duke Huei, 607 B.C. (Ch M H IV, p. 116). This correction is absolutely unacceptable; it is quite arbitrary and does not even agree with the text of the *Tso-chuan* or that of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, which give the dates of Ti invasions of Ch'i as 616, 606 and 605. We should be forced to assume that both the chronicles neglected to record this particular invasion.

The legendary character of the whole story is particularly noticeable in the version given by the *Ku-liang chuan*, Wen 11th year. Here the following comment is added to the account of the defeat of the Ti: "Why is it not said that he led the army, and (yet) the word "overcame" is used. This expresses the fact that he defeated only one man. Why is the word "overcame" used? To show that (this one man) was the equal of a whole gang. The *Chuan* says: As for the Tall Ti, they were three brothers who behaved shamelessly towards the Central States, and could not be harmed by bricks or stones. Shu-sun Te-ch'en was an outstanding archer, and caught him in the eye with an arrow. The body was nine *mou* long. When his head had been cut off and placed on a cart, the eyebrows stuck up above the backboard (of the cart) . . ." The *Kung-yang chuan* (Wen 11th year) also speaks of a family of giants: "Who were these Ti? They were the Tall Ti. They were three brothers. One went to Ch'i, one to Lu and one to Chin. The one who went to Ch'i was killed by Ch'eng-fu, a king's son. The one who went to Lu was killed by Shu-sun Te-ch'en. Nothing is known of the one who went to Chin . . ."

It is clear that in these legends the Sou-man are not a tribe, as Chinese scholars have suppposed, but a family of giants who are described to have fought as individuals. They are invulnerable and can only be hit in certain places on their bodies. The similarities between the accounts of the fights with the different giants are striking. In the battles fought in Lu and Sung there are four men in the general's chariot, certainly a very unusual thing; the names of the people concerned are very similar: in Sung the Minister of Instruction bears the family name Huang-fu, the Minister of Crime is Niu-fu, the fourth man in the chariot is Fu-fu, and the victor in Ch'i is called Ch'eng-fu. In Sung the spearman's name is Ku-sheng, just as Fu-fu is called Chung-sheng. In Sung, indeed, the Ti were defeated at Ch'ang ch'iu, which could be translated as "Giants' Hill". Even more remarkable is the fact that in all three cases there is a marked connection between the killing of the giant and the city gates, and a change in the name of someone on the victorious side. In Lu the giant's head is buried by the city gate and the general names his son after the giant; in Sung the general's charioteer is rewarded by the proceeds of dues paid at the city gate and takes his name from this gate; in Ch'i the giant's head is buried right at the north gate of a town.

All these facts lead us to conclude that we are dealing with a collection of legends formed more or less on the same model. The references to heads buried by the city gates, and particularly by the north gate, suggest that the legends concerned guardians of the gate. Since the Ti represented the north, it is not unlikely that they were assigned the function of guardians of the northern gates, which would explain the considerable degree of uniformity in the legends. In no case, however, can these accounts be accepted as historical evidence of the existence of a Ti tribe called Sou-man living somewhere in eastern China. It is of course not impossible that the name preserves that of some outstanding family among the Ti.

The origin of these guardians of the gate was then linked to certain specific historical events like the battle of Hsien in Lu, and in some cases set back far in the past. The legends were then contaminated by the historical legends surrounding the end of the Red Ti, and particularly their brave leader Feng-shu (25), who probably became the Fen-ju of this legend. Feng-shu's strength and his deeds of valour, which we shall be dealing with later, could have contributed a great deal to the growth of the legend of the Ch'ang Ti, the "giant Ti". Another point in favour of contamination is the fact that Feng-shu escaped to Wei after he was defeated, and was handed over to Chin, where he was executed. Thus the country referred to in the legend is also attested.

On the other hand it is clear that these legends of giants buried at the city gates began to merge with other tales of giants. In the *Kuo-yü* (Wei chieh), ch. 5, *Lu-yü* B p. 112, we are told how the men of Wu asked Confucius to tell them where the giant bone they had found came from; it was big enough to fill a cart. Confucius told them that it was one of Fang-feng shih's bones (26) (the name means "defence against the wind"); he had been killed by Yü the Great for coming late to a meeting of the gods on Kuei-chi mountain (27).

In the Hsia and Shang periods this spirit was said to be the ruler of the Wang-mang-shih (28); his clan name was Ch'i (29) and he was the patron of Yü Mountain

(30), according to the commentary, in Yung-an district (31) in Wu (32) in Che-chiang. Under the Chou he became a Ch'ang Ti; naturally this legend has absolutely nothing at all to do with the Ti settled in Shan-hsi.

Vassal statelets of Shang in Shan-hsi

IV

There is a noticeable contrast between the complete lack of news of the Ti to the east of Shan-hsi before the year 662 B.C. and the flood of references to them in that year. Parallel to this we can observe relatively numerous references to relations between the states lying round Shan-hsi, for instance between states to the east and to the west, or to the north and to the south, before the year 662, while after this date such information disappears. The same is true of news of various military campaigns during these two periods. It looks as though it was fairly easy to take an army through the passes of Shan-hsi during the earlier period, while after the year 662 the Chin state had to fight there literally step by step, and fight hard. Equally striking is the importance of the states to the north and north-east of Shan-hsi up to 662, and their insignificant role after that year. This year 662, the year in which the Ti are first heard of in the east, appears to form a boundary, as it were, between two quite distinct historical periods in this region, each of them differing in character.

The historical sources on which we can draw for the early history of Shan-hsi are meagre, but even so I believe they give support to our thesis.

Although it is possible to agree with Li Hsüeh-ch'in (1959, p. 95) that the actual domain of the Chinese kings was bound to the north by the T'ai-hang mountains while in the east it crossed the River Chang (1) in the Great Plain, it is obvious that the Chinese themselves had long passed these boundaries — as indeed Li Hsüeh-ch'in himself points out. There were even Shang vassal states to the north of the T'ai-hang mountains. The state of Li (A 1) came into being in the valleys round what is now Lu-ch'eng (A 5) during the Shang period.[1] As I pointed out in the Introduction, there would no great value in trying to decide whether the capital of this state was in the old Li-ch'eng (A 2) district, to the north-west of the district of the same name today, or lay to the south-west of the district of Ch'ang-chih (A 4) of today and was identical with the place Li-t'ing (A 3). This difference of opinion as to the site seems to have arisen because there were two place names in which the word Li figured: Li-ch'eng and Li-t'ing. We have no reason to prefer either of them, just as it is impossible for us to accept the interpretation that the state of Li was originally located in what is now Ch'ang-chih district, and was later transferred to what is now Li-ch'eng district, when Li was reestablished by the Chin; this will be dealt with later. We can however assume that the names of both these places represent traces of this byegone state, just as does the name of the river Li-shuei, which rises 25 *li* to the south-west of the town of Ch'ang-chih beneath the hill of Duke Li (A 6).

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[1] In the *Shu-ching* and the *Tso-chuan* this state is named Li (A 1). In the *Shih-chi*, on the other hand, in the Yin chronicles (Ch M II 1, p. 203) it is called Ch'i (2) and elsewhere (3) or Ch'i (4). Some commentators have assumed that there were two separate states, but for basically ideological reasons, for an attack on Li, part of the Shang domains, would have been out of keeping with the character of Wen-wang. These are not sufficiently serious reasons for us to reject the identity of these two names in an identical historical context. The pronunciation of both characters **lier, liei* and *g'ier, g'ji* makes it not impossible that they are different transcriptions of one and the same name.

Commentators to the Chronicles of Yin assumed that the Li territory was part of the domain of the Shang kings, but we should not forget that Shang inscriptions contain numerous references to campaigns and battles fought against the Li (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, pp. 286–287), and that the latter are frequently bracketted with the Ch'iang (5). Under Wu I (6) the fighting was particularly fierce; the king himself took part in expeditions against the Li, and the king's family and three others (probably of the royal Tzu (7) clan) were mobilized against them. (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 287). The Chih (8) also attacked Li, as we shall see later; Chih was a Shang vassal state, and Li and Chih are frequently mentioned in the same context. (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 286). The Li may have been pacified in the course of these campaigns, for their ruler bore the title *hou* (9) and ancient tradition has it that the clan name of the Li and the Shang was the same, i.e. Tzu (7) (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 287).[3] Towards the end of the Shang period, at least, the Li were in very close contact with the Shang, and the last of the Shang kings, Chou (10), went hunting and inspected the army on their territory (*Tso-chuan*, Chao year 4, Ch Cl V, 2, p. 593).

To the west of Li, in the lower Fen basin, the state of T'ang (11) had existed time out of memory; the capital, also called T'ang, appears to have lain 15 *li* to the south of the present town of I-ch'eng (12). There can be no doubt as to the site of the T'ang state, for in the *Shih-chi* (Ch M H IV, p. 251) it is said of the Chin (13) state, established on former T'ang territory, that it covered an area of 100 square miles and that it lay to the east of (Huang-ho) and of the river Fen. In the *Tso-chuan* (Ting year 4, Ch Cl V., 2, p. 750) we are also told that the founder of Chin was appointed to "the ruins of the capital of Hsia" (14), located by tradition between the river Fen and the Kuei, a tributary on the left bank of the Fen. The ruling house of T'ang claimed to be descended from the emperor Yao (16) and may have borne the clan name of I-ch'i (17) or I-chi (18), a point which is not entirely clear (see Wedemeyer, pp. 487–488). The important thing is that direct descendants of the ruling house of T'ang were still living in the Chin state, the powerful Fan family (19), and that they kept alive the traditions of their house (*Tso-chuan*, Hsiang year 24, Ch Cl V, 2, p. 505, and Chao year 29, Ch Cl V 2, p. 729). The name *Hsia-hsü*, "the ruins of the capital of Hsia", shows that tradition located the first political centre in China here, and that this region was therefore one of the most ancient centres of Chinese culture. The T'ang state, whose rulers are repeatedly referred to as T'ao T'ang (20) (in both passages of the *Tso-chuan* referred to above) seems to have occupied a predominant position in the region now covered by southern Shan-hsi, for in the *Shu-ching*, in the "Songs of the Five Sons" (21) (Ch Cl III, 1, p. 159) we read: "There was the prince of T'ao and T'ang, who possessed this country of Chi (22)". The song of course refers to the emperor Yao (the forebear of T'ao and T'ang), but it proves the dominant position of T'ao T'ang in Chi province, which corresponded to Shan-hsi.[4] T'ang seems to be mentioned frequently in Shang inscriptions (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 72) as a base for expeditions against the Fang (23), one of the most important hostile tribes the Shang had to fight (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, pp. 270–272).

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[3] The *Shih-pen*, a source which was lost at the end of the Chou dynasty and reconstructed from the many quotations in ancient works (cf. Chêng Tê-k'un 1960, p. XXIV) gives the Li (ch.7, p. 27a) among the families originating from Sung, and says that they were the descendants of the Duke of Li and that their clan name was Tzu (7), giving several authorities. The *Shih-pen* is quoted to this effect in the *Shu* commentary to the *Tso-chuan*, Yin year 1.

To the north of T'ang, still in the Shang period, the state of Huo (24) came into being; the name still exists as the name of a district today. The old town of Huo is said to have lain 16 *li* to the south-west of the district capital today. Huo was a very important place under the Shang, for it served the Shang kings as a base for expeditions against the Kuei (II 2) and Wei (25) tribes, as we shall see later (see Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 76). The Shang armies penetrated further north than Huo, for the inscriptions refer to Wang (26) and Kuang (27), places which are clearly to the north of Huo. The Shang king went hunting there (Li Hsüeh-ch'in, p. 76). The Kuang took an active part in the fighting against the Ch'iang, for the inscriptions include such questions as: "The Kuang will not catch the Ch'iang?" or: "Will the Kuang catch the Ch'iang?" (Wu Tse 1949, p. 32), and the Shang are interested to know whether the Kuang will be able to come (Wu Tse 1959, p. 55, Note 21).

The statelet of Wei (28) may also have been located in south-west Shan-hsi; the Wei ruler Ch'i (29) became the founder of the Sung kingdom and was charged with keeping up sacrifices to the Shang kings (Ch M H I, p. 245, and Ch M H IV, p. 214). The traditional location of Wei is the present district of Lu-ch'eng (A 5) and tradition has it that the old seat of the Wei prince (30) lay to the east of the district of Lu-ch'eng (Ta Ch'ing 1897, ch. 103, p. 5a); many names found in the area are cited as reminiscent of the ruler of Wei. It is probable, however, that the legend gave rise to an imaginary topography crowding the area with monuments to Prince Wei, so dear to the hearts of the Confucians. The name Wei appears frequently in Shang inscriptions; this Wei must have been somewhere in the south-western region of Shan-hsi, south of the T'ai-hang mountains and north of the Yellow River, wedged between the X tribes (31) on the east and the Ch'iang on the west who were constantly atacking it (Li-Hsüeh-ch'in, p. 33, pp. 62–63).

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[4] Chi (22) is mentioned in Shang inscriptions and Wu Tse (1949, p. 36) locates it in Shan-hsi; according to Ting Shan (1956) it was in the present I-ch'eng-hsien (12).

The Wei were originally enemies of the Shang, but it appears that under King Lin Hsin (32) the Wei were defeated, their chief captured and sacrificed to the gods. The inscriptions then show that Wei became a vassal state under the Shang, and the kings reveal their interest in the health of the Wei ruler (Li Hsüeh-ch'in p. 76). The situation of Wei as one of the most westerly Shang vassal statelets would explain why Wei rulers sought to be on good terms with the Chou and why the Wei accompanied the Chou king Wu on his campaign against the Shang (Ch Cl, III 2, p. 301); this brought them at least a part of the Shang inheritance.[5]

Important Shang strongholds to the north of T'ai-hang were the territories of the X (47) and (8), according to contemporary pronunciation the Chih. X (47), where a count was appointed (Li Hsüen-ch'in, p. 95), lay to the north of X (48), which was already on the west bank of the river Ch'in (49) (Li Hsüeh-ch'in pp. 22 and 64). The X (47) were constantly sending messengers to report to their Shang masters what was going on in the northern regions (Wu Tse 1949, p. 35). Chih, which as we shall see was an important base for campaigns against the Kuei and other barbarian tribes, probably lay at the northern end of the Chung-t'iao-shan mountains (50) on the southern borders of Shan-hsi (Li Hsüeh-ch'in, p. 59).[6] Further to the west lay Wei and X (54); these two territories must have been fairly close, as they are repeatedly mentioned in the same connections (Li Hsüeh-ch'in, pp. 33 and 64).

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[5] Like other states mentioned in this connection (see *Shu-ching*, Ch Cl III, 2, p. 300—301, and *Shih-chi*, Ch M II I, p. 229—230), Wei (28) is localized in Szu-ch'uan and adjacent territory, in the south-west. Of the names listed in King Wu's speech we can definitely trace Shu (33) and Ch'iang (34), who as we shall see lived west of the Shang. Shu must have been a neighbour of Ch'iang, because both countries are mentioned in the same connection on the oracle bones: "Question: whether Wu will be able to attack Ch'iang and Shu" (35) (Wu Tse 1949, p. 53, Note 8). It is likely that the Shu lived nearer the Shang centre than Szu-ch'uan is today, since they are frequently referred to in inscriptions. The Yung (36) and Pu (37) are mentioned in the *Tso-chuan* (Wen year 16, Ch Cl V, 1, p. 273) as barbarian tribes attacking Ch'u in time of drought, so that the suggestion that they lived in Hu-pei is not improbable. In the same connection the *Tso-chuan* mentions the place Lu (38), so that it is likely that the Lu who were also mentioned by King Wu lived in the same area, i.e. in Hu-pei. We cannot say anything about the traditional view that the Mao (39) lived in Pa district (40) in Szu-ch'uan. But we would like to suggest that the P'eng (41) traditionally assumed to have lived in P'eng-wang-ch'eng (42) in P'eng-shan hsien (43) in Szu-ch'uan, are far more likely to have been the P'eng-hsi (44) whose capital was P'eng-ya (45) near the present district of Pai-shui (46) in Shen-hsi, and who were defeated by the Ch'in in 697 (Ch M II II, p. 20). In this context it would not be impossible to identify the Wei with the Wei of the Shang inscriptions. We may assume that the Chou relied primarily on the western neighbours of Shang and then on some friendly tribes to the south-west.

[6] On the grounds of graphical similarity Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 296) identifies Chih (8) with Hsin (51), mentioned in the *Tso-chuan* (Chuang year 32, Ch Cl V, 1, p. 119) and usually localized in Shen-shih chen (52), south-east of Shen district (53) in Ho-nan province, to which it belongs. Ch'en's philological arguments are weak and conflict with the historical context; Chih must have lain north of the Huang-ho, in the territory of what is now Shan-hsi province. Wu Tse (1959, p. 29) places Chih in the western part of Shan-hsi or the eastern part of Shen-hsi.

Just as the Fen basin and the adjacent plains had been taken over by Chinese statelets as early as the Shang period, so the power of the Shang had probably spread to the lowland approaches to the T'ai-hang range in the east. Wang Kuo-wei (*Kuan-T'ang chi-lin*, ch. 18, p.1a)commented on the weapons with typical Shang inscriptions on them, found in what is now I hsien (55) district, and advanced the question whether P'i or P'ei (56) was not the territory later known as Yen (57), since several vessels bearing the name of the "Count of P'ei" (58) had been found in 1890 in the Lai-shui district (59).

The term Pei fang, "Northern Country", occurs in Shang inscriptions(Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 300), and Ch'en Meng-chia also makes the suggestion that it was connected with Pei-kuo or P'ei of the Chou period. We have not sufficient material to give a more precise identification of this Shang term, however. Later we will return to the question of whether this P'ei was part of the Shang domains. Similarly it is probable that the Hsing state (62), with its centre to the south-west of the present Hsing-t'ai district (63) in Hopei, was originally part of the royal domains of the Shang. There is a tradition, although not a very reliable one, that the Shang ruler Tsu I (64) moved to Keng (65) or (66), which was identified with (62) and located at Hsing-t'ai (Ta Ch'ing, 1897, ch. 20, p. 4b). Since however Hsing (as we shall see) became a fief held by one of the Chou family when the vassal territories were distributed after the Chou victory, we can safely assume that Hsing was one of the Shang vassals.[8]

We have only mentioned a few places which can be fairly reliably identified, and which formed the northern Shang borders; they are primarily places which played an important part at the time when the Shang were succeeded by the Chou, and are significant for our further line of argument.

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[7] Tung Tso-pin (61) suggested that the name Yen (57) which is perhaps found in Shang inscriptions under the form (60) (see Wu Tse 1949, p. 36) is identical with Yen (57).

[8] Wu Tse (1949, p. 36) follows Tung Tso-pin (61) in believing that the (67) of the Shang inscriptions is the later state of Hsing (62) in Ho-pei, in Hsing-t'ai (63).

V

The northern and western barbarians in the Shang period

All around these centres of Shang power there were barbarian tribes with whom the Shang and their vassals were always at war. Again we shall mention only a few of those which can be fairly definitely located, and which played a distinct role during this period, judging from the relevant inscriptions. We shall restrict our comments to tribes on the north and west, since only information from these regions is relevant to our inquiry.

In the middle Wu Ting (1) period there is particular reference to fighting with the T'u-fang (2). who clearly lived to the east of Chih (IV 8), and with the X (IV 31), who lived to the west of the latter state;[9] this is revealed by the reports on barbarian invasions sent by Chih to their Shang masters. The following is an example (Li Hsüeh-ch'in, p. 61): "a message came from the west: Chih Chen (7) — we shall be referring to him again — reports: the T'u-fang have attacked our eastern borders and looted two villages; the X (IV 31) have also attacked fields on our western border" (cf. Wu Tse 1959, p. 29) The latter also attacked Wei (IV 28), from where repeated messages were sent that the X (IV 31) had attacked fields and taken people prisoner. This tribe must have lived between Chih and Wei, somewhere to the north, for they also attacked the X (IV 47). This can be seen for instance from the inscription (Li Hsüeh-ch'in, p. 61): "A message has come from the north; Ch'i . . . (8) of X (IV 47)[10] reports: The T'u-fang have attacked our fields, ten men". There are also reports that the X (IV 31) had pastured their horses on T'ang territory (IV 11) (Wu Tse 1949, p. 34). The T'u-fang and the X (IV 31) were probably rather weak tribes who did not do much damage; they are usually reported as destroying a few villages and taking a handful of prisoners. Their attacks were made by a few dozen men, on one occasion only ten are cited. The Shang kings were not unduly disturbed by reports of these attacks, either: Wu Ting did not even interrupt his hunting when he heard of them (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 64). The T'u-fang are only mentioned in inscriptions relating to the middle period of Wu Ting's reign, but reports of trouble from the X (IV 31) continue into the reign of his successor Tsu Keng (11) (Li Hsüeh-ch'in p. 65), although by that time the tribe had clearly been pacified.

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[9] Wu Tse (1949, p. 29, and p. 54, Note 10) reads this character as K'u (3) and identifies the tribe with the land of K'u (4) mentioned id the *Shu-ching*, Yü-kung Ch CI III, 1, p. 115. In the Yü-kung, however, the country is one lying in the southern province of Ching (5), while Wu Tse follows Kuo-Mo-jo in placing the T'u far to the north, as far as Pao-t'ou (6) in Sui-yüan, and the K'u even further to the west. Such attempts at identification are without any value whatever.

[10] Wu Tse (1942, p. 57, Note 33, 2) reads this name as Ch'i Jan (9) and quotes Tung Tso-pin (IV 61) to the effect that she was the wife of King Wu Ting. Similarly the name of the Tzu Ts'an (10) who sends a similar message from X (IV 47) he takes to be the name of Wu Ting's son. The son and his mother were probably sent to the frontier to guard it.

In the region of these two tribes we also find the Fang (12), unless the name is an abbreviated form for one of those already mentioned.[11] The Fang lived in the north, for it was messengers from the north who brought reports of their attacks They attacked the X (IV 47), the Chih (IV 8) and the T'ang (IV 11), and the town of Ho (15) is also mentioned in connection with them. Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 270) locates them to the north of the Tun region (16), that is to say to the north of Ch'in-yang (17). This would mean that they lived to the north of the T'ai-hang range, in the southern region of Shan-hsi. The Fang are mentioned in inscriptions from the time of Wu Ting down to that of Ti Hsin (18).

The Shang had much more dangerous rivals than these small tribes in central and south Shan-hsi; these rivals came from the north-west and west, along the Yellow River basin where it runs from north to south. We must try to determine at least approximately where these tribes lived, which were so often the victims of the Shang kings' military campaigns. We shall be referring to the Kuei (II 2), who probably lived somewhere to the west or north-west of Chih (IV 8) and Huo (IV 24), later. In the neighbourhood of the Kuei (II 2), perhaps to the south of them, lived the Wei (IV 25), who are repeatedly mentioned together with the Kuei on tablets dating from the reign of Wu Ting (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p.73). When King Ti I (19) led an expedition against the Jen in the Wei valley (21), he passed through Wei (IV 25) to X (22). By this time the Wei (IV 25) had been pacified. A detailed analysis of the different places led Li Hsüeh-ch'in (1959, p. 56) to the conclusion that the places the king passed through lay on both banks of the Yellow River beyond where it bends towards the east, so that Wei (IV 25) and X (22) must have been to the west of the bend, i.e. in what is now Shen-hsi province. On his return journey the king obviously crossed the Yellow River and came back to his capital through Chih (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 57). We shall return to the fighting against the Wei (IV 25) in connection with the Kuei (II 2).

His expeditions against the Jen (20) led King Ti I far up the Wei valley (21), for we have evidence that he rested by the river Huai (23). A shrine dedicated to this river is mentioned in the geographical chapter of *Han-shu* (Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 28 A, p. 34b), in the description of Wu-kung district (24), belonging to Yu Fu-feng (25) in Shen-hsi. There is no point in trying to decide whether the river Huai is the river Hsiu (26), as some Chinese commentators believe and as Li Hsüeh-ch'in attempted to prove (p. 33), or whether it is a river which has since dried up and of which no more than the shrine dedicated to it remained in the Han period; the latter appears to be the more probable. In either case king Ti I crossed into territory which later formed the core of the Chou domains. The name of the river Chü (27) points to the same region; it is mentioned in many of the old sources and especially in the *Shih-ching* (Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 437) in connection with the original home of the Chou people. It is difficult to determine where this river actually lay, but the name shows that at this time the Shang were penetrating the territory from which the Chou people came.

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[11] Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 270) points out that the Fang (12) are mentioned in the *Chu-shu chi-nien*, (Wang Kuo-wei, *Ku-pen*, p. 2b, Shao K'ang (13) year 1) and in the *I-chou-shu* (Ssu-pu pei, ch. 7, chap. Wang hui pien (14) p. 10a), but in both cases the context is quite fantastic and is probably of later authorship, so that the content has no value for our argument. The other identifications proposed by Chen Meng-chia are not well-founded. Wu Tse (1949, p. 33) also accepts the existence of the Fang.

The campaigns against the Jen were major expeditions, one of which lasted as long as seven months (Li Hsüeh-ch'in p. 41). The chief of the Jen was captured and sacrificed to the gods. From the last period of the Shang a skull-bone has been preserved, with the inscription: Tsu I attacked the count Jen-fang(28) . . .[12] (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 60). The question arises whether the name Jen is not a transcription of a foreign name elsewhere transcribed as Jung (29), adopted as a general term for barbarians. The phonetic difference between *jen* (20) — *nien* > *nžien* > *jen* and *jung* (29) — *niong* > *žiung* > *jung* is not so great as to exclude the possibility of both being transcriptions of the same name. It requires no stretch of the imagination to assume that the Chou transcribed this name as Jung and later, as their power expanded, carried it throughout the eastern regions. This interpretation cannot of course be more than pure hypothesis.

The Shang did not attack only the Jen in the middle reaches of the river Wei (21), but came into direct conflict with the Chou. For a time the Chou were vassals of the Shang (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1956, p. 97, and Wu Tse 1949, p. 32) and there are inscriptions where we find such phrases as: "Order the Duke of Chou, this month, to . . ." (Wu Tse p. 55, Note 19). It is clear, however, that at other times there was heavy fighting between them; there are inscriptions referring to orders given to "our own family", Tzu (IV 7) and other families, to attack the Chou. There are indeed very many inscriptions of this type (Wu Tse pp. 32 and 55, Note 20). On these expeditions the Shang were usually accompanied by Ch'üan hou (30), the Duke of Ch'üan. There is the following inscription, for example: "Command serfs of many Tzu families and the Duke Ch'üan to attack Chou (31)" (Wu Tse p. 55, Note 20). Or: "Command many Tzu families to follow Duke Ch'üan and attack the Chou (32)" (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 291). Later there appears to have been some sort of agreement between the Shang and the Chou, for according to Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 292) there is no record of attacks on the Chou after the time of Wu Ting. We shall be returning to the relations between Ch'üan Jung and the Chou in another connection.

While expeditions against the Jen and the Chou were more in the nature of individual campaigns, the Shang were constantly at war with the Ch'iang (IV 34).

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[12] Wu Tse (1949, p. 37ff) tried to place the Jen fang in the east in Shan-tung.

The continual character of the fighting can best be deduced from the fact that the word Ch'iang was clearly used in Shang times in the general sense of "barbarian", as were the names Jung, Ti, Man and I later. The implacable hostility of the Shang towards the Ch'iang can perhaps be explained by the latter's direct threat to the Shang western frontiers; as we shall see below, the Ch'iang were allies of the Chou, whose growing power was an increasing threat to the Shang. They therefore had X (33) guarded against them (Li Hsüeh-ch'in p. 78), as it was close to the important hunting-ground of the Shang, X (34). It lay on the northern bank of the Huang-ho to the west of Ch'in-yang (Li Hsüeh-ch'in p. 29), and had been an important hunting-ground since the time of Wu Ting. We are told in another inscription that the Tun (IV 48) also fought the Ch'iang; as we saw above, this was another important hunting-ground, on the western bank of the Ch'in (IV 49) (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 281). The position of Ch'iang territory is also indicated by the fact that it was close to Wei (Li Hsüeh-ch'in, p. 34) and that the Ch'iang were also attacked by the Chih (IV 8) (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 281, and Wu Tse 1959, p. 30).

The struggle against the Ch'iang was a stubborn one; the Shang king sent five families to reconnoitre (Li Hsüeh-ch'in, p. 77) and on one occasion had 13,000 men in arms against them (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 276), and once 6,000 (Li Hsüeh-ch'in, p. 79), although only three to five thousand men were put in the field against the T'u-fang and other barbarians.

The wars led by Lin Hsin against the Ch'iang were victorious; two Ch'iang leaders were captured and sacrificed to the gods. In one inscription the king asks "whether two counts of the Ch'iang country can be used for sacrifice to two ancestors" (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 79).

Ch'iang captives were also used for various kinds of work, and even for highly respected work like the preparation of oracle bones (Li Hsüeh-ch'in, p. 80). In this context the word *ch'iang* probably means no more than slave, serf, and there are inscriptions referring to the flight and pursuit of *ch'iang* (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 80). The oracle is asked whether a fleeing Ch'iang can be caught, and there are references to their capture and sacrifice. Numerous inscriptions concerning the capture of Ch'iang show that many of their neighbours took part, e.g. the Chih (IV 8) and the Kuang (IV 27) (Wu Tse 1959, p. 32). We are left with the impression that the Ch'iang were hunted like wild animals (see Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, pp. 277—279). Up to the time of I Hsin (35) human offerings were all termed Ch'iang (Ch'en Meng-chia p. 281). On the other hand it would be wrong to regard the Ch'iang as mere barbarians. That Chinese civilization was not without its influence on them can be seen from the late Shang vessel marked with the name Ya Ch'iang (36), perhaps a Ch'iang product. (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1956, p. 80).

A striking feature of the Ch'iang, distinguishing them from all the other barbarian tribes, was the importance of horses in their way of life. Inscriptions speak of Ma Ch'iang (37), perhaps Ch'iang who own horses, and To ma Ch'iang (38), Ch'iang who own many horses (Ch'en Meng-chia, p. 277). It was apparently for this reason that they were kept in the royal service, for in the reign of Wu Ting we find inscriptions "ordering the Ch'iang who own many horses to chase deer" (Li Hsüch-ch'in p. 80), and Wen Wu Ting (39) commanded the Ch'iang who owned many horses to drive back (a) tribe, perhaps the Fang (IV 23) (Li Hsüch-ch'in 1959, p. 80). This reference to chasing deer may suggest that the Ch'iang were horsemen, since chariots would not be very suitable for hunting deer.

The large armies mobilized by the Shang kings against the Ch'iang show that the latter were considered a serious threat. This was probably because the Ch'iang, on the western Shang borders, were only the vanguard of other related tribes right up the Wei basin far into Kan-su. As late as the Han period there was a district Ch'iang-tao (41) in Lung-hsi chün (40), and the river Ch'iang (42) flowed here (*Han-shu*, Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 28 B, p. 3a); the name Ch'iang has survived in many place names in Shen-hsi and Kan-su. Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 282) quotes the name of the township Ch'iang pai chen (43) which he interprets as the "township of the Count of Ch'iang", fifteen *li* to the west of Ta-li district (II 27) in the eastern region of Shen-hsi, and there are many similar names elsewhere: Ning Ch'iang (44) in southern Shen-hsi, Huai Ch'iang (45), Lai Ch'iang (46), P'o Ch'iang (47), Lin Ch'iang (48), Fu Ch'iang (49), all pointing to pacification of the Ch'iang.

The menace of the Ch'iang was even greater because of their close alliance with the Chou, whom the Shang were constantly fighting. The legends claiming a common descent for the ruling clan of each tribe, the Chi (II 73) clan of the Chou and the Chiang clan (II 74) of the Ch'iang, illustrate the close relationship between them. (We shall return to the connection between the name of the Ch'iang people and the Chiang clan.) (See Ch'i Szu-ho 1946, p. 71). It was said that the heroes of the two clans, Huang ti (50) and Yen ti (51) were brothers (*Kuo-yü, Wei chieh, Chin-yü* 4, Wen kung, p. 12) and that the progenitrix of the Chou was called Chiang Yüan (52); some believe that this Chiang is a clan name (Ch M H I, p. 209). The Ch'iang accompanied King Wu on his expedition against the last of the Shang kings, Chou, (Ch Cl III 2, p. 301), and after the Shang were defeated this alliance meant that many members of the Chiang clan were given fiefs, and in particular the important state of Ch'i (53).

There is a possible connection between these Ch'iang, threatening the western Shang frontiers, and the various Jung tribes who lived in approximately the same region in the following Chou era and claimed to belong to the Chiang clan. It would appear, however, that these Jung were located somewhat further to the south. While in the Shang period the Ch'iang were to be found to the west of the river Ch'in (IV 49) and therefore probably to the north of the Yellow River, the Jung tribes lived further to the south, in the valley of the river I (II 39) and the Lo (II 40), which is to the south of the Yellow River.

It is repeatedly stated in the sources that the Jung came to this region as late as the year 638, as a result of combined action by the Chin and the Ch'in (*Tso-chuan* Hsi year 22, Ch Cl V, 1, p. 181, and ibid., Hsiang year 14, Ch Cl V. 2, p. 459, where the migration is dated in the reign of Prince Huei of Chin (650–637); and also Chao year 9, ibid. p. 624, where the same story is repeated). There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this tradition, which has even preserved the name of the Jung chief concerned, Wu-li (51) (p. 459), who took refuge with the Chin when the Ch'in drove him out. The Jung would thus appear to be relative newcomers to the area. Yet *Tso-chuan* speaks of Jung tribes attacking the Chou capital as early as the eleventh and twelfth year of Hsi, 649 and 648 B.C. (Ch Cl V 1, pp. 158 and 159), which would *mean* that the Jung had been settled in the area at least ten years earlier than the date at which their migration is mentioned. It is clear that there were many tribes, some of them numerous, inhabiting these regions and menacing the royal domain. In 649 we hear that the Yang-chü (55), the Ch'üan-kao (56) and Jung tribes from the river I (II 39) and Lo (II 40) attacked the royal capital, and the following year Duke Huan of Ch'i sent an emissary to mediate between the Jung and the king and another to mediate between the Jung and the Chin. The question now is, what the relations were between these newcomers and the Jung tribes already settled in the region before their arrival. The immigrants were all called Chiang Jung (Ch Cl V, 2, p. 459 and Ch Cl V, 1, pp. 221 and 222), as is clear from the historical context too. Elsewhere (p. 624) they are called Yin Jung (57), but the historical context again makes it clear that they are the same Chiang Jung. Yet again they are called Lu-hun Jung (58), and *Tso-chuan* for the year 638, Hsi year 22 (Ch Cl V, 1 p. 181), speaks of the Lu-hun Jung moving into the I-ch'uan region (59). We might assume that Chiang was a broad designation for a whole people while Lu-hun was applied only to a certain smaller group. Besides the designation Chiang they were also termed members of the Yün clans, or, as the *Tso-chuan* has it (Ch Cl V, 2, p. 624), good-for-nothings of the Yün clans (II 23). Another name used seems to have been Chiu-chou Jung (60), for in the year 520 (*Tso-chuan* Ch Cl V, 2, p. 691) the Jung from Chiu-chou are said to have taken part in an expedition, and the Lu-hun to have been defeated.

A more involved question is that of the relations between these immigrant Jung and the other tribes. It is noteworthy that the Chiang Jung were moved into I-ch'uan, that is to say into a region which must already have been inhabited by the Jung from the rivers I and Lo who disturbed the royal domains in the year 649. The Jung from the I and the Lo were also mentioned together with the Lu-hun in 585 (Tso-chuan, Ch Cl V, 1, p. 358) as attacking the Sung together.

We appear to be dealing with a unified group, and perhaps the best explanation of the symbiosis would be that a Chiang (or perhaps originally Ch'iang) tribe from the Wei basin (probably the Lu-hun) was moved into the I-ch'uan area to settle among their fellow Chiang, who were descended from the Ch'iang of Shang times and had lived there from time immemorial; the two groups being related soon merged, and so in the year 525 *Tso-chuan*, p. 666, can refer simply to the destruction of the Lu-hun.

The name Lu-hun has been preserved in that of the district called by this name, which was founded in Han times. The old town lay to the north-west of the Sung district (61), over 20 *li* north of Fu-liu ch'eng (62). This is where the mountain called Lu-hun, popularly known as Fang shan (63) is situated (*Ta Ch'ing* ch. 163, p. 2b).

This hypothesis is not of fundamental importance for our argument, but it is not without interest that the line along which the Chinese fought with tribes they regarded as barbarians ran more or less in the same places in the Chou period as it had in Shang times.

There could of course be another interpretation, that the Jung who attacked the capital of the kings of Chou reached this region as the barbarians were moving eastwards, at the time when the Ti were over-running the area of eastern Shan-hsi and the neighbouring plains of Ho-pei. But the numerous names of Jung tribes quoted in this context would suggest that they had been settled there for some time.

If our hypothesis were proved correct it would throw an interesting light on the policy followed by the Chou kings. As we have already seen, the Ch'iang were loyal allies of the Chou in their struggles against the Shang. The decision of the Chou kings to establish their eastern capitals Ch'eng Chou (64) and Wang ch'eng (65) near what is now Lo-yang could thus be construed as the desire to be as near to the Shang domains as possible while remaining in an area at least partly inhabited by their Ch'iang allies. Ch'eng Chou lay 30 *li* to the north-east of the present Lo-yang (*Ta-ch'ing* ch. 163, p. 1a) and Wang ch'eng north-west of Lo-yang in the angle formed by the rivers Chien (66) and Lo (Chêng Tê-k'un 1963, p. 23). Both towns were thus protected by Jung tribes settled to the south of them. Naturally this alliance with the Jung had its dangers, particularly when there was a struggle for the throne as there was in 649.

While the Ch'iang-Chiang appear regularly in the role of allies of the Chou against the Shang — with the exception of the reign of King Hsüan who according to tradition was defeated by Jung of the Chiang family (67) (*Kuo-yü*. Wei chieh. *Chou-yü* ch. 1, p. 11), the Ch'üan Jung (II 12) were their constant enemies and in the end played their part in the downfall of the Western Chou. This political trend alone is sufficient to throw doubt on Haloun's view that the Ch'üan Jung were related to the Chiang-Ch'iang.[13] There are also reports of the Ch'iang attacking the Duke of Ch'üan (Wu Tse 1949, p. 32); the Duke had probably quarrelled with the Shang king, for the vassal statelet of Ch'üeh (68) also took part in the expedition; this statelet was the main Shang ally against the Ch'iang and other tribes, and must have been located in the western regions of the Shang domains. (See Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 298). Inscriptions dealing with fighting between the Ch'üeh and the Ch'üan Jung are not rare (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 294).

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[13] Haloun (1922, pp. 436—437) believed the Lu-hun to have been remnants of the Ch'üan Jung, and this was the foundation of his hypothesis that the latter migrated from the upper Wei to Ho-nan. The connection between the Lu-hun and the Ch'üan Jung, the Kun and the K'un-I has never been proved and as we shall see is extremely improbable. Haloun repeated his belief in the connection between the Ch'üan Jung and the Chiang clan in his study 1924 (pp. 84, 85 and 87).

The Ch'üan Jung are mentioned in the written sources as enemies of the Chou; they are given various names. In the Mien (69) ode in honour of Tan-fu (70) the forefather of the Chou (*Shih-ching*, Ch Cl IV 2, p. 441), they are called Kun I (71): "The hordes of Kun disappeared". In the foreword to the poem *Ts'ai-wei* (72) (Ch Cl IV, Part 1, Prolegomena, p. 64) we read: "In the time of king Wen there was trouble from the tribes of K'un in the West and Hsien-yün in the North". Here they bear the name K'un I (73), and the same name appears in Meng-tzu (Ch Cl II, p. 31): "King Wen served the K'un I". In the *Shih-chi*, in the history of Chou, the name Ch'üan Jung appears (II 12) (Ch M H I, pp. 220, 251, 258–9, 285, 318); it is also found in the history of Ch'in (Ch M H II, p. 14). In the *Shih-chi*, ch. 110 (ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng, p. 5) we find the name Ch'üan I (74): "Ch'ang the commander of the West attacked the Ch'üan I". Later on in this chapter, however, the name Ch'üan Jung (II 12) does not appear until a list of the western barbarian Jung tribes subjugated by the Ch'in is given (p. 9), with the name Kun Jung (75); *Ch'ien Han-shu* ch. 94 A, (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, p. 2b) gives Ch'üan Jung (76) at this point, but it is doubtful whether we can presume the two to be identical, since we are obviously dealing with tribes living in western Kan-su, far away from the original home of the Ch'üan Jung. In *Shuo-wen Chieh-tzu* we find K'un I (73) under *ma* (77) and Ch'üan I (79) under *k'ou* (78).

Otherwise I would say that all the names given are but varying transcriptions of the name found in Shang inscriptions, i.e. Ch'üan Jung. The old pronunciation of these characters was not so very different: Ch'üan (80) was pronounced *k'iwɛn* >*k'iwen*; Ch'üan (81) *kiwɛn* > *küan*; *K'un* (82) *kwɛn* > kuɛn; and *Kun* (83) was pronounced' *g'wɛn* > *γuɛn* > *hun*, which is a loan for kwɛn > kuɛn > kun. Kun (84) was pronounced kwɛn > *kuɛn* > *kun*. Although this tribe played an extremely important role in Chou history its locality has never been determined with any degree of exactitude, and opinions on the point vary widely. Ch'en Meng-chia (1956) accepted the view of Ch'ien Mu (1931) that the original home of the Chou was in South Shan-hsi, and consequently (p. 294) sought the Ch'üan Jung in the same region. He suggested that their capital was K'un-tu (85) in Chin, mentioned in *Tso-chuan* (Hsi year 16, Ch Cl V, 1, p. 170), which must have lain to the east of the river Fen. Other scholars locate the Ch'üan Jung away on the western periphery of the kingdom. Fan Wen-lan (1950, p. 65) thought their original home was in Hsi-ning hsien (86) in Ch'ing-hai (87), but that later one of their tribes migrated to Feng-hsiang (88) in Shen-hsi. In my opinion this tradition that the Ch'üan Jung originally came from the west has been responsible for identifying them with the Western Barbarians (see Haloun 1924, p. 621: "a punitive expedition against the Si-jung, i.e. generally speaking, the K'üan-jung") and in general for the view that they were a "barbarian" people compared to the "civilized Chou".[14] This tradition is based on no more than the name of one of their chiefs, who is called Shu-tun (90) in *Kuo-yü* (*Weichieh*, ch. 1, Chou yü shang, p. 4): in *Shih-chi* (Ch M II 1, p. 258) it is written (91). Since there is a town of the same name to the north of the hill of Man-t'ou (92) in Hsi-ning-fu in Kan-su, it is thought that this was the seat of the Ch'üan Jung ruler and that he took his name from here. This theory has been thoroughly analysed by Ch'en P'an (1955, p. 151), who concluded that the localization was unlikely in view of the considerable distance of the town from the Chou centre. The localization of the Ch'üan Jung in the T'ai-hang region on the basis of his interpretation of the *Mu t'ien tzu chuan* is of course equally improbable.

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[14] This tradition was supported by the reference in the *Shih-chi* (ch. 110) to the Kun Jung (75) living to the west of the Lung (89), and identified in the *Ch'ien Han-shu* with the Ch'üan Jung.

It seems to me that when trying to determine the locality from which the Ch'üan Jung came we must first find some definite basic information, and then base our interpretation of more questionable data on that. I consider the poem *Mien* in *Shih-ching* (Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 441) to be such a reliable starting-point; it refers to the rivers Chü (27) and Ch'i (93) and the mountain Ch'i (II 4), that is to say, the real home of the Chou, in the narrower sense. According to this poem, the Chou settled at the foot of the mountain Ch'i, after driving out the Kun I. This I feel is decisive for our consideration of their original home, because the poem is our oldest source and not contaminated by historical speculation. We can thus conclude that the Ch'üan Jung originally lived at the foot of the mountain Ch'i, whence they were driven by the arrival of the Chou from the north. A somewhat later tradition preserved in *Hou Han-shu* (Wang Hsien-chien, ch. 87, p. 2a,) says that "when the Emperor Chieh, the last Hsia ruler, created confusion, the Ch'üan I penetrated (into the region) between Pin and Ch'i" (94). The commentary quotes *Chu shu chi-nien*, Ti Kuei year 3: "The Ch'üan I penetrated into Ch'i and rose in revolt".

If we could accept this tradition as reliable, at least as far as the home of the Ch'üan Jung is concerned, we should have two delimiting points: Ch'i-shan to the south and Pin to the north. The question to be decided is where Pin lay. It has usually been identified with the present district of Pin in Shen-hsi (see Geograph. Dictionary p. 420), but Ch'i Szu-ho (1946, p. 77) sought this Pin and Pin (95) in Mei-yang t'ing (96), in the old district of Yu fu-feng (97), that is to say to the north-east of the present Wu-kung (98). Modern Chinese scholars, among them for instance Fan Wen-lan (1950, p. 65) locate Ch'üan Jung in the Feng-hsiang district (88) to the west of Ch'i-shan. This theory can also be found in the Geographical Dictionary (p. 171), where the home of the Ch'üan Jung is placed to the north of this district.[15] The modern Historical Atlas of Ku Chieh-kang (1956, p. 2), on the other hand, locates them between the Ch'i (II 4) and the Pi (100). Haloun (1924, p. 622, Note 1) quotes these sources for the home of the Ch'üan Jung, but on his map he has placed them even further to the west of Feng-hsiang.

In order to determine the home of the Ch'üan Jung more reliably, we must take into consideration the second series of sources for the history of this people, i.e. the Shang inscriptions. In addition to numerous inscriptions in which their attacks on the Chou are mentioned, apparently attacks ordered by the Shang kings (Wu Tse 1949, p. 32, Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 291), the Ch'üan Jung are said to have been attacked by the Ch'üeh (68) (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 294) and even in alliance with the Ch'iang (see Wu Tse 1949, p. 32). The Ch'üan are said to have been chased by the Fou (101) and are mentioned together with this statelet (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 293). The Ch'üan are similarly mentioned together with the Hsüan (102) and as we have already seen are given in the same context as the Shang clan Tzu (IV 7) and the Shang king (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 294). It is clear that there was an intimate relationship between the Ch'üan and the Shang kings, but I am not so sure that we can unreservedly accept the suggestion of Ting Shan (1956, p. 116) that the Ch'üan hou were among the nobility of the Shang domain proper, *Nei-fu-ti hou-ya* (II 78).[16] Perhaps the Ch'üan chief, bearing the title *hou*, was the ruler of a semi-independent territory under the protection of the Shang. In any case the title *hou* accompanies the name Ch'üan in Shang inscriptions.

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[15] According to Ch'en P'an (1965, p. 151) this localization is based on the *Ti-ming k'ao-lüeh* (99) (ch. 13, p. 20b), but how it originated is not clear.

All this of course argues against locating the Ch'üan settlements far to the west in the upper reaches of the Wei; they should rather be sought in the east, near the Shang domains. The statelets and tribes mentioned in the same context as the Ch'üan, however, cannot be located at all exactly. Ch'üeh (68) was particularly involved in chasing and fighting the Ch'iang (Wu Tse 1949, p. 30), so that it must have lain in the western Shang territories; Wu Tse (p. 31) is not too precise on the point (p. 31): "to the south in the central region of Shen-hsi". Ch'en Meng-chia (p. 298) is equally vague: "west of the present Yü (108), i.e. the Ho-nan of today". Hsüan is the only place to be given a more definite location, and here considerable doubts arise since the conclusion is based on no more than a similarity in names. Ch'en Meng-chia (p. 276) identifies this statelet with the Yüan (109) of the Han geography, said to lie twenty *li* to the west of the present Yüan-ch'ü (110) in Ho-nan. This fits the historical context, but the argument, based as it is on nominal similarity, is rather weak. The same is true of the localization of the statelet Fou. Ch'en Meng-chia (p. 294) believed, in view of this state's relations with its neighbours, that it lay in the southern region of Shan-hsi. On the basis of the ancient similarity between the characters Fou (101) and T'ao (111) he concluded that it was the town of T'ao-ch'eng, now Yung-chi hsien (112) in the south-west corner of Shan-hsi. Once again it is probable that Fou did lie somewhere in the western regions of the Shang state, but the arguments put forward by Ch'en Meng-chia are not in themselves convincing.

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[16] For the organization of the Shang territories see Li Hsüeh-ch'in (1959, p. 95), interpreting the description of the system given in the *Shu-ching* (ch. *Chiu kao* (103) (Ch Cl III 2, p. 407). Leggès interpretation is faulty. At the most we could assign "Duke Ch'üan" to the group of *yüeh tsai wai fu* (104) "dignitaries of the outer territories", or to what the *Ch'üan Yü-t'ing*(105) inscription calls *Yin pien hou tien* (106), apparently for (107): "Yin border dukes and dignitaries" (Kuo Mo-jo 1957, Vol. 6, p. 34a).

The inscription mentioned above (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 286), in which an attack on the state of Li by the Ch'üan Jung is referred to, is proof that the latter could not have lived far from the northern part of the Shang state.

We should not overlook the fact that the last mention we find of the Ch'üan Jung, dating from the year 660 (*Tso-chuan*, *Min* year 2, Ch Cl V, 1, p. 126), is of their defeat by Duke of Kuo (113) where the river Wei flows into the Huang-ho. It is possible that a report dated 658 also refers to the Ch'üan Jung, although *Tso chuan* (Hsi year 2, Ch Ch, V, 1, p. 135), only speaks of the defeat of the Jung at Sang-t'ien (114). Since this reference is to another victory by the state of Kuo, however, we may assume that the defeated Jung were again the Ch'üan Jung, as in the previous case, Sang-t'ien is identified with the present Ch'ou-sang-i (115), thirty *li* to the east of Wen-hsiang district (116) in north-west Ho-nan. The centre of the state of Kuo was in the present P'ing-lu district in southern Shan-hsi. The question is whether to consider these Ch'üan Jang as representing the last wave of migration by this people, moving from Kan-su to the bend of the Huang-ho and on into Ho-nan, as Haloun believed; or whether the Ch'üan Jung defeated in the year 660 were not the last remnants of a people settled in the region ever since Shang times. The delimitation of Ch'üan Jung settlement between the bend on the Yellow River in the east and a line from Pin-hsien to Ch'i-shan in the west seems to me to fit the historical context best.

The title *hou*, and the existence of a bronze vessel inscribed Ya Ch'üan t'ing (117) "tripod of the Ch'üan chief" (Ting Shan 1956, p. 116) and another bearing the inscription "The king of K'un I using cowries made ..." (see Karlgren 1936, p. 63), provide evidence that the Ch'üan Jung had adopted Chinese culture and were certainly not at a lower level of civilization than the Chou. Ting Shan, whom we have frequently referred to, is also against the idea that the Ch'üan Jung were a people living like barbarians. It was their position as allies of the Shang and enemies of the Chou that caused them to appear in legends as the descendants of dogs. See *Shan hai ching*, Szu-pu pei-yao, 12, pen. 3, p. 1b: "The land given to the dogs is called Ch'üan Jung. They look like dogs". In the same work (17, pen. 3, p. 1a) they are located far in the Great Desert beyond the north-eastern sea to the neighbourhood of the Yellow River. On p. 6a a fantastic genealogy is devised for them, tracing them back to Huang-ti and declaring their immediate ancestors to have been a pair of white dogs.

We shall return to the history of the Ch'üan Jung in so far as it concerns our subject.

The early settlement of Shan-hsi and the Chou invasions

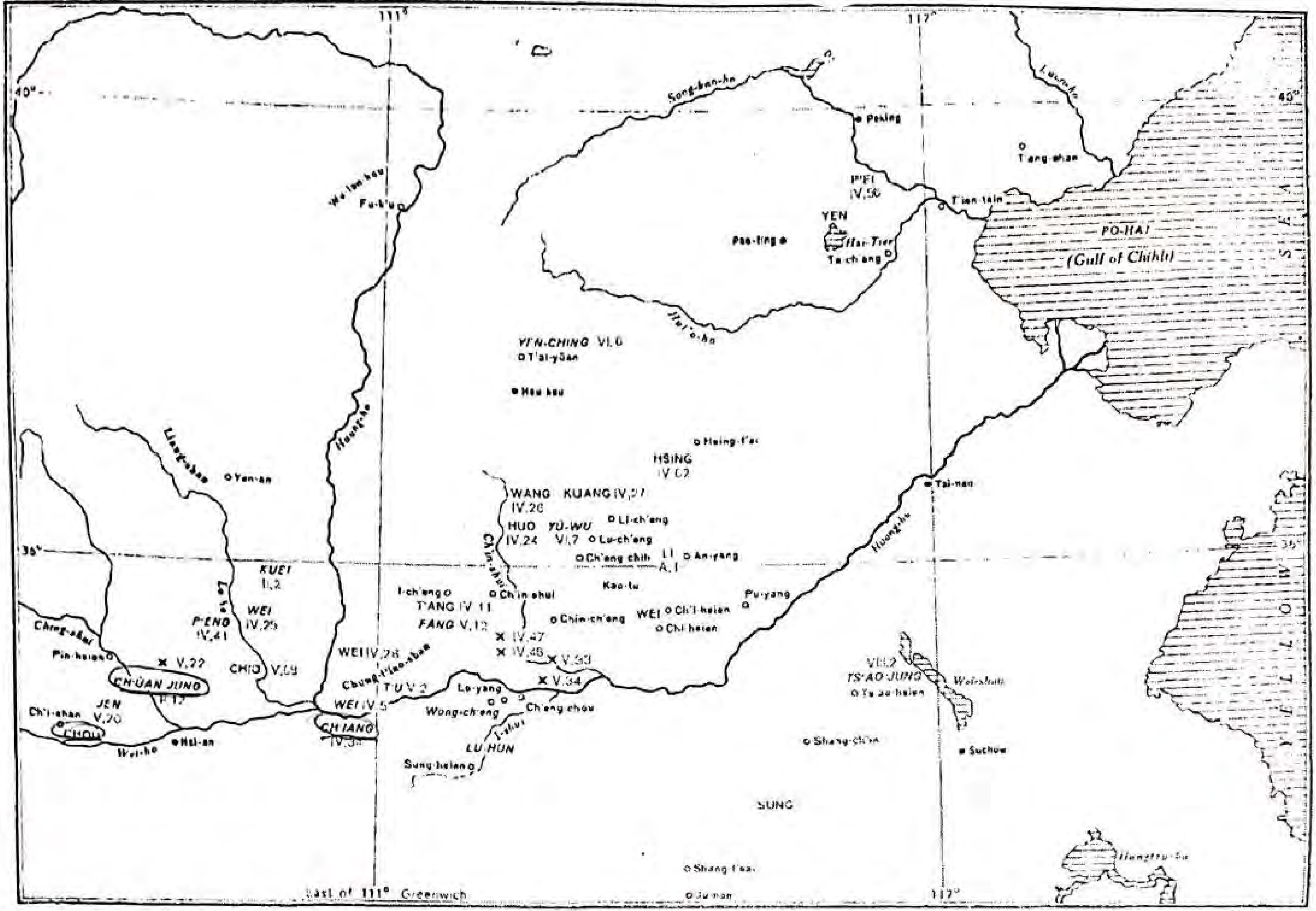
VI

This was a brief survey of the situation in Shan-hsi and the surroundings regions, as it can be reconstructed from Shang inscriptions. We naturally considered only the data concerning the subject in hand, and did not attempt a complete reconstruction of the geography of this region in the Shang era, which would be far beyond the scope of this book. The facts thus gathered show that none of the tribes living to the east of the river Fen in Shan-hsi can be identified with the Ti, and it is therefore probable that there were no Ti tribes settled in this area in the Shang period. We find confirmation of this theory if we study what happened here in the early years of Chou rule.

The early Chou rulers appear to have been effective military leaders whose campaigns brought them as far as southern Shan-hsi even before they attacked the Shang. The report of the destruction of the state of Li in the dales round what is now Lu-ch'eng (A 5), which we have discussed above, can be accepted as historical fact, proved by the circumstance that one of the lost books of the *Shu-ching* was called *Hsi po kang Li* (1), "The Chief of the West's Conquest of Li". The Foreword to the *Shu-ching*, attributed to Confucius, says of this chapter: "Yin's first hatred of Chou was occasioned by its conquest of Li. Tsu I (2) full of dread hurried to inform Shou. There was made (the chapter) The Chief of the West's conquest of Li" (Ch Cl III, 1, p. 7). This outflanking move which brought the Chou armies into the rear of the Shang, to the north of their centre, was bound to throw them into a panic. It is clear that this bold incursion into the valleys north of T'ai-hang (we shall see how difficult the Chin troops found it to get there) took place before the Shang were finally defeated, for the Chou ruler is still called only the "chief of the west". It is debatable whether this was already Fa (3), better known by his posthumous name of Wu wang or whether his father Ch'ang (4), better known as Wen wang, was still ruling. Szu-ma Ch'ien (Ch M H I, pp. 203 and 220) attributes the campaign to King Wen. The conquered state, however, is first called Chi (IV 2) and then Ch'i (IV 4). In the present *Chu-shu chi-nien* the invasion is given twice, first in the 34th year of Ti Hsin, that is to say still in the reign of Wen-wang, when the state concerned is called Ch'i (IV 4), and then in the 44th year, in the reign of Wu wang, when the state is called Li (A 1). The discrepancies in the present *Chu-shu* clearly arose from the differences between various sources used by the compiler. It is sufficient for our purposes to note that the Chou penetrated to central Shan-hsi before the final defeat of the Shang.

The 87th chapter of *Hou Han-shu* (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, p. 2a—2b) also re-

SHANG STATELETS AND THE NOTHERN AND WESTERN BARBARIANS


111°
117°
40°
35°
Sang-kan-ho
Peking
T'ang-shan
Luan-ho
P'EI
IV,56
T'ien-tsin
YEN
Pao-ting
Hai-Tien
Ta-ch'ang
PO-HAI
(Gulf of Chihli)
Hu'o-ho
YEN-CHING VI,6
T'ai-yüan
Hsu kau
Wu-lan-kau
Fu-k'u
Hsing-t'ai
HSING
IV,62
WANG
IV,26
KUANG IV,27
HUO
IV,24
YÜ-WU
VI,7
Li-ch'eng
Lu-ch'eng
Ch'ang chih
LI
A,1
An-yang
Ch'in-shui
Kao-tu
I-ch'eng
Ch'in-shui
T'ANG IV 11
FANG V,12
Chin-ch'eng
WEI
Ch'i-hsien
Chi-hsien
Pu-yang
Tsi-nan
Huang-ho
IV,47
IV,48
V,33
V,34
Lo-yang
Wang-ch'eng
Ch'eng chou
I-shui
LU HUN
Sung-hsien
Liang-shan
Yen-an
Huang-ho
KUEI
II,2
Lo-ho
WEI
IV,25
P'ENG
IV,41
Ching-shui
Pin-hsien
V,22
CHI'O V,69
CH'ÜAN JUNG
II,17
JEN
V,70
Ch'i-shan
CHOU
Wei-ho
Hsi-an
WEI IV,28
Chung-t'iao-shan
T'U V,2
WEI IV,5
CHIANG
IV,34
VII,2
TS'AO JUNG
Ts'ao-hsien
Wei-shan
Shang-ch'iu
Suchow
SUNG
Shang-ts'ai
Ju-nan
Hang-chou-fu
East of 111° Greenwich
117°
J. Hertzler

cords a campaign by the father of Wen wang, Chi li (5), against the Jung from Yen-ching (6), during which the Chou army was defeated, and the subjugation of the Jung from Yü-wu (7), Shih-hu (8) and I-t'u (9). These data are all from the *Chu-shu chi-nien* and are therefore quite reliable. Whether the names and their localization are correct is another matter. Not one of the names is to be found in Shang inscriptions, but this is not conclusive, for there were a great many barbarian tribe names. It is a more suspicious circumstance that these two-syllable names show no similarity to the tribe names in Shang inscriptions.

For his localization of Yen-ching, Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 293) quotes *Huai Nan tzu*, (ed. Szu-pu pei-yao ch. 4, *Ti hsing hsün* (10) p. 10b): ("The river) Fen rises near Yen-ching". Kao Yu's commentary (11) then adds: "Yen-ching is the name of a mountain in T'ai-yüan, the River Fen rises there". Ch'en Meng-chia tried to connect the Yü-wu with the town of Yü-wu (12) mentioned in the *Han-shu* (Wang Hsien-ch'ien ch. 28 A, 1, p. 44b), which according to the commentary lay forty *li* to the north-west of Tun-liu district (13). Since the Red Ti lived in this region, Ch'en Meng-chia identifies the Yü-wu with the Ti. For the other two tribes even Ch'en Meng-chia offers no suggestion. Of these hypotheses we could allow some probability only in the case of Yen-ching, for as Ch'i Szu-ho pointed out in 1946, the names of mountains and rivers remained unchanged for centuries. On the other hand we should not lose sight of the fact, to be shown later, that the real conquest of the T'ai-yüan basin was effected much later. This does not of course mean that a bellicose and still barbarian state could not make inroads over a larger area than that later occupied by systematic but slow expansion. If it were possible to accept some of the identifications proffered by Ch'en Meng-chia, we should see that at the very beginning of their expansion the Chou expeditions reached deep into Shan-hsi, presenting the Shang with a dangerous diversion in the north.

It appears probable that after the conquest of the state of Li and perhaps after other expeditions into the interior of Shan-hsi, the state of T'ang (IV 11) surrendered voluntarily, for the ruling family suffered no reprisals and was not removed from office until the rebellion against King Wu's successor, King Ch'eng. The state of Huo (IV 24) was apparently conquered, however, because a Huo Shu (14) whose name was Ch'u (15) and who was the younger brother of King Wu-wang was put in office there (see Ch M H IV, pp. 153 and 162).

It would appear that Huo, which as we have just seen was an important Shang stronghold, now became one of the pillars of Chou might.

Immediately after the Shang rebellion the son of the murdered Chou king (IV 10), or Shou Hsin (16), called Wu Keng (17) or Lu Fu (18), was appointed to continue the Yin sacrifices. But three regents *san chien* (19) were set over the Yin lands, all three younger brothers of King Wu. One was the Ch'u mentioned above, who was put in charge of the P'i or P'ei region (IV 56), which judging from the name was the northern region, perhaps including the valley of the River Lai (IV 59) and later Yen (IV 57). Then there was Kuan shu (20), named Hsien (21), who administered the Yung region (22), roughly approximate to the later

Sung kingdom; and Ts'ai shu (23), named Tu (24), who was in charge of Wei (III 2). There is no mention in *Shih-chi* of this form of administration of the conquered territory, but only the fact that the princes of Kuan and Ts'ai were to help Wu Keng in his administration of the Shang lands (Ch M H I, p. 237). The tradition of "three supervisors", however, was preserved in *I Chou shu* and generally accepted in the old sources, so that there is no reason to doubt its reliability. In *I Chou shu*, Szu-pu pei-yao, ch. 5, *Tso Lo chiai* (25) 48, p. 7a, we read: "When King Wu had conquered Yin, he charged Prince Lu Fu with the task of humbly performing the Shang sacrifices." The commentary adds: "He was charged with sacrificing to Victorious T'ang (26)." Kuan-shu was sent to the east and Ts'ai shu and Huo shu to Yin, to keep close watch on the Yin vassals". This was taken over by the *Han-shu*, where we read (Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 28 B, 2, p. 61b): "The land of Ho-nei (27) was originally the Yin capital." When the Chou defeated the Yin, they divided the territory up into three parts, P'i, Yung and Wei, mentioned in *Shih-ching*, in the *Feng* section (28). P'i was given in fief to the son of Chou, Wu Keng; Kuan-shu ruled over Yung and Ts'ai-shu over Wei; this was known as *san-chien* (19), "rule of three supervisors" . It does not appear to me that the reference in *Han-shu* provides an independent tradition differing from that given in *I Chou shu*, except for the introduction of the term *san-chien*, the provenience of which is not clear. The fact of the matter is clearly stated in *I Chou shu*, where the three governors are named. I think the passage in the *Han-shu* is an attempt at clarification of the statement made in *I Chou shu* with reference to the three administrative divisions of Shang: Yung, Wei and P'i. That there was a real foundation for the names, and that they must have been in use for a very long time, transpires from the fact that they are used in the *Shih-ching* to designate three groups of songs following immediately on two groups of songs from areas under direct Chou rule. They appear to be songs from the ancient territory of the Shang, and we can therefore accept the hypothesis that these three names were the names of the old Shang administrative divisions. It is not improbable that King Wu maintained this organization after he conquered the territory, merely placing one of his brothers at the head of each division. This is the interpretation proffered by the famous commentator of the second century A.D., Cheng Hsüan (29), who says in his *Shih-p'u* (30), section *P'i Yung Wei p'u* (31) (see *Shih p'u k'ao cheng* p. 4): "P'i, Yung and Wei are territories of 1,000 square *li* in area, in the inner domain of (king) Chou of the Shang (dynasty). These fiefs were perhaps in the east of Chi-chou (IV 22) (province), (described) in the chapter *Yü-kung* in *Shu-ching* to the east of the T'ai-hang Mountains. In the north they stretched beyond the river Chang (32) and to the east they went as far as to the wild fields of Sang-t'u (33) in the province of Yen-chou (34). When the Chou king Wu defeated the king Chou (IV 10) he gave the capital in fief to his son Wu Keng, to continue the house of Yin. Since the stupid common people of Yin had long been corrupted by the king Chou, it was not possible to set up a dukedom there; the Shang territory was therefore divided into three parts and "three governors" were set over it. He entrusted the government and instruction of these lands to Kuan-shu, Ts'ai-shu and Huo shu. The land to the north of the Chou capital was called P'i, that to the south Yung and that to the east Wei."

It is only in *I-chou-shu* that the name of one of the governors is given in connection with a definite territory, when Kuan-shu is said to have been put in charge of the east, i.e. Wei. On the other hand, in *Han-shu* we read that Kuan-shu was to govern Yung and Ts'ai shu, Wei. We do not know on what authority the *Han-shu* was based, but since the whole tradition of the *san-chien* was founded entirely on the *I Chou shu* it is the more correct approach to rely on this tradition and to accept as more probable that Kuan was the governor of Wei. His capital, Kuan (35), lay in what is now Cheng chou (36), i.e. in the second main Shang centre. Ts'ai shu's fief, Ts'ai, lay ten *li* to the south-west of Shang-Ts'ai (37) to the north-west of Ju-nan (38), that is to say already in the southern part of Ho-nan. The location of this fief makes it more probable that Ts'ai-shu was in charge of the southern territory, later that of the Sung. Thus we arrive at a logical division of function: Ts'ai-shu with his seat in the south governed the southern division, Huo-shu with his seat in the north guarded the northern territory, and Kuan-shu in the centre took care of the eastern part of the territory. This logical conclusion was also formulated by Huang-fu Mi in his *Ti wang shih chi*, ed. *Ts'ung-shu chi ch'eng*, p. 31; he believed however that the Yung division was to the west of the capital. For arguments against this see Ch'en Meng-chia I, 1955, p. 143.

That the governor of Huo was one of the *san-chien* and that he took part in the rebellion against King Ch'eng is confirmed by *I Chou shu* (Szu pu pei-yao ch. 4, *Shih fou chiai* (39), 40, p. 11a) in a passage about the capture of the Duke of Huo.

We have already referred (p. 35) to the discovery in I-hsien district (IV 55) of a vessel inscribed with the words P'ei po (IV 58), the count of P'ei; Wang Kuo-wei raised the question of whether P'ei was not in fact what later became Yen. If this view is correct we can assume that the governor of Huo ruled all the northern territories from the river Fen to the plains round present-day Peking.

This would of course imply that communication between the river Fen region and the territory east of the T'ai-hang mountains in what is now Ho-pei was fairly easy. Such communication would only be possible if the loess passes between the two areas were not yet held by the belligerent Ti tribes.

Further confirmation of this is the fact that in the succeeding period, that of the Western Chou, relations between the two areas were relatively active. The report that the Duke of Yen took action far in the west is particularly remarkable, and would suggest that Wang Kuo-wei was right in his suggestion, quoted above, that Yen was formerly P'i. This view was taken up by Ch'en Meng-chia I, (1955, p. 143). I feel that it could be assumed that after Huo-shu was removed from the scene the government of the northern territories was entrusted to the Duke of Yen. In the song *Han-yi* (II 31), *Shih-ching* (Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 546), in praise of the Duke of Han, it is said that the capital of Han was fortified by the Yen army (IV 57). Han covered the south-eastern part of present-day Shen-hsi, and the capital was to the south of Han-ch'eng (40) district. Some Chinese scholars, it is true, have tried to locate the Han of this poem in Ho-pei, not far from Peking, but there are no grounds for the assumption (see Waley, 1954, pp. 145 and 147, Note 1). It seems to have started from the realization that Yen lying in the plain of Peking could not be of much help to Han in south-eastern Shen-hsi, but this point of view neglects the fact that contacts between east and west were much more frequent in ancient times than later on, after the Ti had settled in Shan-hsi. Shen-hsi is also indicated by the name of the Liang (41) Mountains mentioned in the text, which stretch north-west from Han-ch'eng. This range is in fact mentioned in the *Yü-kung* (Ch Cl III, 1, p. 94) together with the mountain Ch'i (II 4), which our song also hints at. The fact that Liang and Ch'i appear side by side in the *Yü-kung* proves that Shen-hsi is meant. Further confirmation that it is this region is the reference to the king of Li (42) who was driven from his capital in 842 and took refuge in the town of Chih (43) on the river Fen (44) (see the present text of *Chu-shu chi nien*, Wang Kuo-wei, ch. 2, pp. 10b and 11a).

We have further evidence of the lively contacts between east and west in the records of intervention by the state of Hsing (IV 62) intervening in Chin in the year 718 (*Tso-chuan*, Yin year 5, Ch Cl V, p. 17) and help given in the same year by the state of Yen to the state of Wei, fighting the state of Cheng in the present province of Ho-nan (ibid.). In the year 675 B.C. we find Yen and Wei together attacking the king of Chou and forcing him to flee (*Shih-chi*, chronological tables ch. 14, ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 46). These large-scale operations undertaken by the states of the Great Plain are in sharp contrast to the insignificance of these states from the sixties of the seventh century onwards. As we shall see below, both states lost a large stretch of their territory during the Ti invasion, and were condemned to unimportance.

All the deductions we have been able to make from our study of the barbarian tribes in Shan-hsi and the environs, of expeditions by the Chou kings into central Shan-hsi, and of contacts between the states centring round the core of Shan-hsi between the river Fen and the T'ai-hang range in the east, lead us to the unequivocal conclusion that as late as the eighth century the Ti were still not settled east of the river Fen. We must further conclude from this that the original home of the Ti was to the west of the river Fen, where indeed the great majority of the Ti tribes still lived in later periods.

The original home of the Ti

VII

The main centre of the Ti tribes in the west seems to have been the region known as the Shang marches (1) during the period of the "Warring states". The tradition that this was originally Ti territory persisted for centuries. In the period of confusion following the fall of the Ch'in their territory was divided into three kingdoms, one of which, covering the north-eastern region of Shen-hsi, was called the Ti kingdom. The ruler of this kingdom "reigned over the Shang marches and his capital was Kao-nu (2)" (CHMH II, p. 286). Kao-nu may have been a centre in Ti times. The old town lay to the east of Fu-shih district (3), which is part of the prefecture of Yen-ngan (4). (See *Ta Ch'ing* ch. 182, p. 4b).

At the time of the Warring states the Shang marches were part of the state of Wei (5), which came into being in the fifth century B.C. when the state of Chin was broken up into three. Later it came under Ch'in rule. As we have already suggested, it was probably the ancient territory of the Western "White" Ti who were subjugated by the Chin.

It is possible to determine the area of the Shang marches fairly exactly, from the description in the Han Geography (*Han-shu*, Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 28B, p. 14a ff.); this gives the twenty-three districts (*hsien*) covered by the marches. We thus know the approximate boundaries of Ti settlement.

The marches seem to have covered a part of what is now Ordos, adjacent to the boundaries of Shen-hsi; at any rate the most northerly districts of the marches were She-yen (6), Pai-t'u (7) and Kao-wang (8). According to the geographical dictionary She-yen stretched from Ordos Yu-i ch'ien ch'i (9) (lying along the boundaries of Shen-hsi immediately north of 39° N) to the district of Heng-shan (10) near the Great Wall. Probably we should also look for Kao-wang district in the Yu-i ch'ien ch'i region. It is more difficult to decide where Pai-t'u lay; according to the Geographical dictionary it was to the south of Yu-i chung ch'i (11) in Ordos. This region lay in the angle formed by 39°N latitude and 108°E longitude, and the term "to the south" is very vague. *Shih-chi* (ed. Hui-chu, ch. 110, p. 8) quotes Cheng-i where we read: "*Kua ti chih* (12) says: "the ancient town of Pai-t'u lies 390 *li* north-east of Pai ch'ih (13) in Yen-chou (14)" and then says: "It is close to Yen-chou, Sui chou (15) and Yin chou (16); this was where the White Ti lived in *Ch'un-ch'iu* times. In the time of the Seven Warring States this territory belonged to Wei, and later to Ch'in. When the Ch'in set up thirty-six commanderies (17) Lo (II 40) was Ch'i-chü (18)".

The ancient settlement Pai-ch'ih was in Kan-su on the frontier of Yen-ch'ih hsien (19). This would bring us once again into the above-mentioned region of

Yu-i ch'ien ch'i (9). In the relevant passage in *Shih-chi*, ch. 110, the Ti settlements are given thus (*Shih-chi*, ed. Hui chu, ch. 110, p. 8): "Duke Wen of Chin drove out the Jung and the Ti, and they (later) settled in the land to the west of the River, Ho-hsi (20), between the rivers Yin (21) and Lo (II 40)." Unfortunately it is rather difficult to locate this river Yin; as can be read in the Geographical Dictionary, and in the commentaries to Shih-chi, it has been identified with many rivers flowing through the region adjacent to the Great Wall; it appears to me a waste of time to analyse all the suggestions, some of which were probably based on inaccurate maps. We can however rely on what we are told in *Han-shu* (Wang Hsien-ch'ien ch. 38B, pp. 16a and 16b) of two districts, Huan-yin (22) and Huan-yang (23). According to the commentary Huan-yin lay to the south of the present Shen-mu district (24) while Huan-yang lay to the east. Since it is generally accepted that the name Huan (22) is a variant of the name Yin (21), the river which flows between the two would be the Yin. This is the Ch'ü-yeh-ho (25), which flows south-east from here, and is a tributary of the Yellow River. The same conclusion was reached by Meng Wen-t'ung (1937, p. 68) and indeed by de Groot (1921, p. 20); the latter identifies the river with the Wu-lan (26), which is a northern tributary, or the main northern stream of the Ch'ü-yeh-ho. This of course does not get us any further than our previous conclusion, i.e. that the Ti settlements in this region probably stretched as far as the present boundaries of Shen-hsi and Sui-yüan.

To the north-east of Shen-mu district there lay Chen-lin (27) and to the north of Yü-lin district (28) Kuei-tzu (29), both of which were also part of the Shang marches. This would seem to delimit the northern boundary of the Shang marches fairly definitely, and thereby perhaps the boundary of Ti settlement as well.

It is more difficult to lay down the western boundary. We know no more than that the district of P'ing-tu (30), on the territory of what is now An-ting district (31), and that of Tiao-yin (32), to the north of Fu district (33), both belonged to the Shang marches. This is in the central part of Shen-hsi, however, and therefore more or less the centre of Ti settlement. It is my belief that the northern section of the western boundary of their territory did not differ substantially from the present boundary of Shen-hsi to the west, for ancient boundaries tend to survive. The southern section of the boundary, however, displays certain anomalies. The Han geography lists as belonging to the Shang marches three districts which are today part of Kan-su province; they are Yüan-tu (34), which cannot be located, Hsiang-lo (35) which according to *Ta-Ch'ing* (ch. 203 Ch'ing-yang-fu, p. 4b) was to the north-east of Ning district (36) below Yen-yüan (37), and the district of Ch'ien-shui (38), to the north of Ch'ang-wu district (39) (see *Ta Ch'ing* ch. 194, Pin-chou, p. 3a). We of course know that both Ning-chou (now Ning-hsien) and Ch'ing-yang (40) to the north, were the home of the I-ch'ü (41) with whom the Ch'in fought far into the Warring States period. Directly north-west of Ning-chou lay the old town of the I-ch'ü (*Ta Ch'ing* ch. 203, Ch'ing-yang-fu, p. 4a). We cannot of course identify the boundaries of the Shang marches with the region settled by the Ti. It is more likely that the southern section of the western boundary of Ti territory, too, was identical with the present boundary of Shen-hsi, but there is no way of reaching a proved conclusion today. We can however say that at least in the historical period the I-ch'ü and perhaps also the Mi-hsü (42) were western neighbours of the Ti: the latter inhabited the present Ling-t'ai district (43) and their capital was fifty *li* to the west of Ling-t'ai, now Pai li chen (44) (see Haloun 1924, p. 612, where there is a detailed discussion of Mi-hsü settlements). If it were possible to conclude that the Ti penetrated beyond the boundaries of the Pin plain, it would be clear that they were serious rivals of the Chou, and the frequent clashes between them would be explained.

The most difficult boundary to delimit is that to the south, for on that side there is no natural frontier. One relatively safe point to accept is Ti tao (45), an administrative unit established in Han times whose name itself shows that it was inhabited by the Ti. *Yüan-Ho chün-hsien chih* (ch. 4, p. 3b) says of Fang-chou (46) that "in ancient times it was Ti country . . . Under the Han it was Ti tao hsien territory". Ti-tao hsien lay to the north-west of Chung-pu district (47) (Ta Ch'ing 195, p. 3a). Chung-pu appears to have been recently renamed Huang-ling (48). Another reliable point is the Han district of Ting-yang (49) to the north-west of I-ch'uan (50), which also belonged to the Shang marches. It would seem to me to be an indication of how far Ti settlement stretched to the south that when the Ti invaded Chin, as we shall see later, they always used the Ts'ai-sang ford (51) to cross the Yellow River. This ford was to the west of the present district of Hsiang-ning (II 49) near Chi district (52), and it is likely that the country around the ford was in Ti hands.

We can reach negative conclusions about the southern boundaries of Ti settlement by determining which regions were not in their power. In the present district of Han-ch'eng (VI 40) the states of Han (53) and Liang (54) arose during the Chou period. There seems to be disagreement as to where the capital of Han was; the Geographical Dictionary located it in the south of the present district of the name. *Ta Ch'ing* (ch. 190, T'ung-chou, p. 1a) placed it in the centre of that district, but quoted a local chronicle which gave the site of the ancient city as 40 *li* to the north-west of the present district, *Yüan Ho* (ch. 2, p. 16a) said that the ancient city was 18 *li* to the south of the district capital of the day, and the capital of Liang 23 *li* to the south of the same. *Ta Ch'ing* (190, p. 1a) placed the ancient Liang capital 20 *li* from Han ch'eng. It is clear that the two capitals must have been very close together, in the present district of Han ch'eng. To the south, in the southern part of Ch'ao-i district (55), lay the capital of the statelet of Jui (56). It is probable that all these small states were established by the Chou during their campaigns.

To the west of this group of Chinese states, in the valley of the Wei, there lay — at least after the fall of the Chou — two barbarian states: P'eng-hsi (IV 44) and Ta-li (57). The chief centre of the P'eng-hsi tribe, which had been subjugated by the Ch'in in the year 697 (see Ch M H II, p. 20), was P'eng-ya (IV 45), to the north-east of what is now Pai-shui district (58) (see *Ta Ch'ing* ch. 190, T'ung-chou p. 1b). To the south of Peng-ya were the settlements of the Ta-li tribe

(57), whose name has been perpetuated in the present name of the district. The capital of this tribe, Wang-ch'eng (59), lay to the east of Ch'ao-i district (55) (*Ta Ch'ing* ch. 190, T'ung-chou, p. 2a). *Yüan Ho* (ch. 2, p. 13b) says of T'ung-chou (60):" In the time of Ch'un-ch'iu this territory belonged to the Ch'in, it was originally the land of the Ta-li".

Bearing all these facts in mind we can say that the southern limits of Ti settlement in the Chou period coincide with a line drawn parallel to 35° north latitude, running north of Han-ch'eng district and south of Huang-ling (61), while in the west their boundary coincided with the Shen-hsi-Kan-su frontier, perhaps as far as the town of Ch'ang-wu (62).

To the east the Ti settlements stretched to the Yellow River and even further to the east, into the hilly country ending in the Fen valley to the west. Under Duke Hsien of Chin (676-651) two of the ruler's sons were entrusted with the towns of P'u (63) and Erh-ch'ü (64); it is probable that they both lay in territory only recently conquered from the Ti, for we know that Duke Hsien led a number of expeditions in the course of which he extended Chin domains considerably. In *Tso-chuan* (Chuang year 28 (Ch Cl V, 1, p. 113) it is said in the year 666 that these towns "are on the frontiers of Chin and from them the barbarians (Jung) can be kept in awe" and that if properly manned "the wide territory of the Ti will in this way be a sort of capital of Chin." (Cf. the statement as given in *Kuo-yü*, Wei Chieh ch. 7, Chin-yü 1, p. 144.)

The town of Erh-ch'ü, which lay in the present district of Chi (52), probably guarded the important Ts'ai-sang ford mentioned above, while P'u, to the northwest of the present district of Hsi (65) stood guard over the large stretch of territory between the Yellow River and the T'ai-yüan basin. We cannot say how far to the east the Ti were settled in these parts, because our earliest information dates from after the great Ti migration to the east; it is to be supposed that here, too, the migration wrought great changes in the distribution of the population.

Today the territory once settled by the Ti is poor land, suffering from frequent drought. This was probably not the case in ancient times, for the present climatic conditions are the work of man, who "through ruthless deforestation has reduced the once almost continuous forest cover of Northern China to very scanty remnants" (G. Andersson 1943, p. 34). In earlier times this relatively large and probably fertile land may have supported a way of life which tempted the neighbouring Chinese to robber raids. On the other hand these tribes also had the chance to become serious rivals to the Chinese states then being formed, although only if they were capable of uniting against them.

The Ti and the Kuei

VIII

The Ti are first mentioned in historical documents in the *Shu-ching* and the *Shih-ching*, and as we shall see later, in the *I-ching* as well. It would seem possible, however, to trace these tribes even further back into the past than these written sources allow. In our summary of the literature we pointed out that Wang Kuo-wei and many other Chinese scholars identify the Ti with the Kuei-fang (II 2) of the *I-ching* and the Shang inscriptions.[17] This view would appear to be correct, but it must be provided with better arguments.

We are struck by the fact that some names which are found in Shang inscriptions as the names of tribes and peoples appear later as the names of ruling clans.[18] Shang inscriptions, for instance, speak of "repeated attacks on the Mi" (1) (Wu Tse 1949, p. 40). Mi was the name of a ruling clan in Ch'u (Ch M H IV, p. 339 et passim). There is a similar parallel between the Ch'iang tribe (IV 34) and the Chiang clan (II 74), which as we have already seen was believed to be closely related to the Chi clan (II 73), a clan of the Chou rulers. The situation is somewhat more involved in the case of the name Ts'ao (2), which also appears in Shang inscriptions as the name of a country (Wu Tse 1949, p. 40), but later is found as a clan name (Ch M H IV, p. 339) as well as the name of a state in what is now Ts'ao district, and was also the home of the Jung barbarians, referred to frequently in the *Tso-chuan*.

The clan name of the Ti was Wei (II 7) (see *Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 23, Ch Cl V, 1, p. 184, Hsi year 24, Ch Cl V 1, p. 190, Wen year 6, Ch Cl V, 1, p. 243). This is stated explicitly in *Kuo-yü* (Wei Chieh, ch. 2, *Chou-yü B*, p. 28). In the *Kuo-yü* (Wei-chieh, ch. 16, Cheng-yü p. 89) Wei is given as an independent state of the west, along with Huo, Chin and Jui, mentioned above. This clearly locates Wei in the western regions originally settled by the Ti, and where we must also seek the home of the Kuei-fang.

It could be deduced from our examples that the name originally held by a whole people was gradually usurped by a ruling house or aristocratic clan, at a certain period, while the people were designated by another name. We could thus imagine that Wei was originally the name of the whole Kuei-fang people and only later became restricted to the ruling Ti clans.

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[17] See Wang Kuo-wei 1936, p. 12b; Meng Wen-t'ung 1937, p. 67; Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 275, etc.

[18] I pointed out this fact in my article Průšek 1955, particularly pp. 219–221.

There is not too great a phonetic difference: *kuei* (3) was pronounced kiwer > kjwei > kuei, while Wei (II 7) was probably pronounced ngiwer > ngjwei > wei; to identify the two is not too risky from that point of view.[16] Wang Kuo-wei has even suggested that they were only graphical variants of the same name; the ancient wei (4) which he assumes is identical with kuei (3) was apparently written (5); Wei (II 7) is written (6). (7) and (8) are almost indistinguishable and Wei (II 7) is thus only an erroneous variant of Wei (4).

On the other hand the question arises whether we can identify the name Kuei with other names, as Wang Kuo-wei tried to do (p. 5 a et seq.) followed by Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 275). There need probably be no difficulty about accepting the identification of the clan name K'uei (9) with Wei (II 7), because the family name was often written in texts without the radical, while in inscriptions the radical, "woman" (10) was used. Wang Kuo-wei quotes five inscriptions where the name K'uei appears (9). The old pronunciation was kiwer > kjwi > kuei. If however we accept the identification of Wei (II 7) with K'uei (9), we must also accept the view of Chinese scholars that this name is identical with Huei (11), Huei (12) and T'uei (13). The So-yin commentary to *Shih-chi* (ed. *Hui chu K'ao-cheng* ch. 40, p. 4) says: "Hsi-pen (14) says: Lu-chung (15) (cf. Ch M H IV, p. 338) married a younger sister of the Kuei-fang family (II 2).

Her name was Nü-huei (16)". The same was stated by *Cheng-i*. In the *Han-shu* ch. 20 (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Ku-chin jen piao*) (17) p. 14b, this name is written (12) while in *Ta Tai Li-chi* (ed. *Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an*, ch. 7, chap. *Ti hsi* (18), p. 5a) it is written (13). This legendary genealogy confirms the connection between the Kuei-fang and an aristocratic clan whose name was written in various ways, as Kuei (3) and as Kuei (19), with various radicals added.

Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 275) identifies the state of Wei (VII 5) with the Wei clan; he analyses the quotation from *Kuo-yü*, Cheng-yü, given above, and says that Wei (VII 5) and Wei (II 7) "were relatively important Kuei-fang centres". The similarity of the names supports the proposed identification: Wei (VII 5) was ngiwar > ngjwei > wei. The localization may also lend support, for the old centre of the state of Wei, which was taken by Duke Hsien of Chin and given to Pi Wan (20) (*Tso-chuan*, Min year 1, Ch Cl V, 1, pp. 123—124) lies five *li* to the north of Jui-ch'eng district (21) in southern Shen-hsi.

There is another suggested identification which should be considered: Huai (22). The Huai clans are referred to in the *Tso-chuan* (Ting year 4, Ch Cl V, 2, p. 750), where we read that when King Ch'eng appointed T'ang shu (23) to Chin, he was given nine families of the Huai clan (22). It could be surmised that in fact the Kuei were meant, for if we assume that the Kuei were the Ti, it is clear that the Kuei lived in the environs of Chin; nevertheless the phonetic similarity is not great: Huai was g'wer > γwai > huai.

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[16] Pelliot rejected this identification in his review of Wang Kuo-wei, 1929, p. 121. He thought Kuei was pronounced *kjwei* and the Wei *ngwei*.

Similarly from the phonetical point of view it does not seem likely that the Duke of Chiu (24) mentioned in the history of Yin (Ch M H I, p. 201) was really the Duke of Kuei (3). Chiu was pronounced kiug > kieu > kiu, which is too far removed from the old pronunciation of Kuei. Against these objections we must place the fact that in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e*, ed. Szu pu pei yao, ch. 20, p. 9a, there is a relatively detailed account of how all three dukes of the king Chou (IV 10), the last Shang ruler, almost lost their lives. Instead of the Duke of Chiu (24), however, this text gives the Duke of Kuei (3), who had a beautiful daughter whom he gave to the king Chou. The latter did not like her and ordered the Duke of Kuei to be cut up into little pieces. It is not impossible that this preserves a legend handed down by word of mouth and referring to a Kuei ruler, which would explain the hesitation between the two names, Chiu and Kuei.

To return to the hypothesis put forward by Wang Kuo-wei, that Kuei (3) is only a variant of the characters for Wei (4). Although there is a certain degree of similarity between the two characters, the pronunciation differs widely, for wei was pronounced *iwer > jwei > wei. Wang Kuo-wei's theory is somewhat unlikely nor does it offer much help in solving our problem.

From this long excursion into the connections of the name of the Kuei with similar sounding names of families and clans in old Chinese sources we can perhaps conclude that it is probable that behind all these forms there may lie a foreign name the transcription of which had not received fixed norm; it therefore appeared in various forms. It is not impossible that the Wei (25) of whom we shall be hearing again later, were a tribe or a separate branch of the people whose native name is the one at the root of the various transcriptions given above.

While the linguistic arguments do not oppose this identification of the Kuei (3) with the Wei (II 7), it looks as though the historical arguments bring more convincing support, as does the localization of the peoples bearing these names. The Ti and the Kuei are really identified in the "Annals of the Bamboo Books", *Chu-shu chi nien*. This fact is preserved in the commentary to chapter 87, *Hou Han shu* (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, p. 2a): "According to the Annals of the Bamboo Books the Chou king Chi (26) attacked Hsi Lao Kuei Jung (II 44) in the thirty-fifth year of Wu I (IV 6) and captured twenty Ti kings" (I 5). Thus the Ti and the Kuei Jung are identified here; the territory or state is called Kuei Jung, the people Ti. The designation Hsi Lao presents difficulties. Legge (Ch Cl III, 1, p. 138) used the phrase "Western tribes" in his translation of the Annals of the Bamboo Books, interpreting *lao* as *pu-lao*, "a tribe". This interpretation is not without its difficulties, for it is not usual to find *lao* alone in the sense of "a tribe". Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 293) interprets the word in this context as Lu (III 19), the known name of a tribe of Red Ti. In my article (1955, p. 220 and 1966, p. 42) I suggested that *lao* was a corruption of Lo (II 40), the name of a river in Shen-hsi, and proposed to translate the whole phrase as: "barbarian Kuei from Western Lo". I have come to the conclusion now that this interpretation is superfluous and that Legge's translation was correct. In Chu Ch'i-feng's Tz'u-t'ung (27), Vol. 1, p. 2502 (28), under Pu-lao (29), we read: "Pu-lao (a tribe) may also be called *lao*, in shortened form". The author gives examples from the Hou Han-shu, which is where our quotation appears, and so we can accept Legge's translation as correct.

This in no way endangers our localization of the Kuei Jung in Shen-hsi or Shan-hsi, in the region later settled by the Ti. On Shang tablets the Kuei are repeatedly mentioned together with the Wei (25). In the YH 127 pit at An-yang twelve tortoise-shell plates were found which are closely connected and cover a very short period. In three questions put to the spirits on the same day they were asked twice whether disaster would overtake the Wei, and once whether the same thing would happen to the "I of the land of Kuei" (30). "I" may have been a person's name (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 74). The very same question, referring to the same person, was found on an oracle shell from another pit (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 75).

Li Hsüeh-ch'in tries to place the Wei in the south-west of Shan-hsi (p. 75), principally because a Wei chief named X (31) seems to have helped the Shang king against Wang (IV 26), which must have lain even further north than Huo, mentioned above.

Inscriptions enable us to draw up the itinerary followed by the Shang king, who moved from Ho (V 15) somewhere on the Yellow River, through a place difficult to locate, to Huo and on to Wang (IV 26). (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 76). X (31) must have been a person of note, since we have several more inscriptions concerning the attack on him, and asking whether he can be caught (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 73). This same chief is also mentioned in a long inscription on an ox shoulder-blade which Li Hsüeh-ch'in (p. 73) assigned to the Lin Hsin period (IV 32) (see Ch M H I, p. 197); it gives an account of a great expedition against Wei in the course of which much loot was taken and several chiefs captured. X (31) was also captured and sacrificed to the ancestors. The skulls of the Wei chiefs were then used in sacrificial rites (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 73). Later on Wei obviously became a Shang vassal state, for they sent cattle to the king and he crossed their territory on his way to attack the Jen mentioned above (V 20). We can therefore assume that the Wei lived further south than the Kuei, somewhere in south-eastern Shen-hsi or the adjacent regions of Shan-hsi.

It is of interest that these tribes are linked together in the inscriptions, for there is not even much difference in the pronunciation of their names. The name Kuei was *kiwer > kjwei, while Wei was *ngwia > ngwie > wei. It is possible as we suggested above, that the tribes were related.

There are other reports which place the Kuei even more decidedly in the old home of the Ti, particularly the account of their subjugation by the Shang preserved in two passages of the *I-ching*. The first is in hexagram 93, *Chi Chi* (32): "Kao Tsung attacked the Kuei-fang and subdued them after three years" (33). The second reference is in hexagram 94, Wei chi (34): "Chen Yung attacked the Kuei-fang, after three years he was rewarded in the capital" (35).

Legge, *The Yi King* (p. 208) translates as follows: "Let him stir himself up, as if he were invading the Demon region, where for three years rewards will come to him (and his troops) from the great kingdom". Kao T-ung is Wu Ting (Ch M II 1, p. 195), who is considered in the Yin chronicles, too, to have renewed the power of the Shang.

It is obvious that Legge's interpretation is far-fetched and unnatural. Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, pp. 274—5) takes Chen Yung to be a name, and Li Hsüeh-ch'in (p. 75) believes that Chen was Chen of Chih (V 7) or else Po Chen (36), the "Count Chen" so often referred to in inscriptions of the Wu Ting period. The sentence in *I-ching* could therefore also be interpreted to mean: "Chen was commanded to attack the land of the Kuei and after three years he was rewarded in the capital". There can be no doubt that this victory over the Kuei was held to be of the greatest importance, since it is remembered in one of the most ancient of Chinese texts; in fact it is the only real historical event reported from ancient times. The significance of the victory was stressed by Ku Chieh-kang (1929, reprinted 1931), who said "it was the most important instance of the eastern people subduing the western"; and the reason why the Chou abused the Shang. The context of this fighting, in his view, explains the song *Tang pien* (37) in *Shih-ching* (Ch Cl IV. 2, p. 509), where a line occurs that Legge has translated as: "Indignation is rife against you here in the Middle Kingdom, and extends to the demon regions". It is of course difficult to say what period the song belongs to. Ku Chieh-kang himself assigns it to the reign of the last Shang king, interpreting it as the reflection of the general indignation at the cruelty of Shang rule.

As we have seen above (pp. 32—34), Chih (IV 8) lay at the northern end of the Chung-t'iao-shan range, i.e. on the southern boundaries of Shan-hsi; if Li Hsüeh-chin's interpretation is correct it would then mean confirmation of our identification of the Kuei with the Ti and their localization in eastern Shen-hsi.

That the Kuei came from this region can be deduced, too, from the inscription on the battle-axe (*ke*) of the Count of Liang, which belonged to Mr. Ch'en of Wei-hsien (38) (see Wang Kuo-wei 1923 A, p. 2a). The inscription on one side is *i Kuei-fang Man* (39) (to subdue the Kuei-fang barbarians) and on the other, "Made by the Count of Liang". As we have already observed, the Liang centre was near the present Han-ch'eng (VI 40) in Shen-hsi; once again we find ourselves in the neighbourhood of the old home of the Ti. The battle-axe dates from the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period, i.e. after 722. (Ch'en Meng-chia 1956, p. 275).

The Kuei-fang were the victims of great military expeditions both in Shang and in Chou times, as the accounts we have quoted show. A long inscription on the *Hsiao Yü ting* (41), "the small Yü tripod", gives us some idea of what these expeditions looked like. There is a reproduction of a rubbing taken from this tripod, in Kuo Mo-jo (1957, Vol. 2, plate 19). The inscription has been analysed in detail and translated by Dobson (1962, p. 226 et seq.); it is an account of two expeditions organised against the Kuei-fang by the princes of Yü. Wang Kuo-wei (1933, p. 2a) attributes these expeditions to the 25th year of King Ch'eng, while other writers (Kuo Mo-jo 1957, vol. 6, p. 34b; Ch'en Meng-chia Part IV, 1956, p. 85ff.; Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, Foreword, p. II) agree that the inscription dates from the time of Ch'eng's successor, King K'ang (42). The latter view appears convincing for the inscriptions speak of sacrifices to kings Ch'eng and Wu, which implies that the expedition took place after the death of King Ch'eng.

The reason for these two expeditions against the Kuei seems to have been the fact that the Kuei remained loyal to the Shang even after the Chou had won China. The inscription declares that the king gave orders that the causes were to be examined (presumably the causes that led to the expedition) and it is said that "the Kuei-fang had previously followed the Shang with the newly . . .". Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, IV, p. 88) believes that the Shang mentioned here are the "Northern Yin" (43) referred to in the foreword to the history of Yin in the *Shih-chi* (Ch M H I, p. 208). These Pei Yin are then identified by Ch'en Meng-chia with the King of Hao (44), the ruler of Tang-she (45) or perhaps T'ang-t'u (46), who was defeated in 713 by Duke Ning (47) of Ch'in (Ch M H II, p. 19). These are rather questionable identifications, apparently based on no more than the fact that the town of the king of Hao was called Tang or T'ang-she, which commentators of the *Shih-chi* (ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng*, ch. 5, p. 15) explain as the city of T'ang the Great, the founder of the Shang dynasty, lying in the district of She; they thus see this king of Hao as a descendant of the Shang. The style of the *Shih-chi* enhances this interpretation, for it is said that the Hao king fled to the Jung, so that he was presumably not a barbarian himself. *Cheng-i* at this point quotes *Kua ti chih* (VII 12) to the effect that there is a T'ang-ling (50) in Yung-chou (49) in the district of San-yüan (48), and a T'ang-t'ai (51) 3 *li* to the north-west of Shih-p'ing (52). The land in question therefore lay on the frontiers of these two districts. The district of San-yüan was 30 *li* north-west of the present district of the name in Shen-hsi, and Shih-p'ing is now the district of Hsing-p'ing (53). It is very unlikely, however, that remnants of the Shang could survive in the very heart of Chou territory for nearly three hundred years. It is more probable that the kingdom of Hao did not come into being until after the fall of the Western Chou in 771.

On the other hand it appears very likely that members of the house of Shang found refuge with various barbarian tribes and states, and that they tried to rouse them against the Chou. Even if the Shang originally fought against the Kuei, the growing power of the Chou probably brought the former enemies closer together, and the Kuei sought the support of the Shang and vice versa. It is significant that the forces led by King Wu against the Shang (see *Shu-ching* Ch Cl III 2, p. 300), apart from the Ch'iang and Wei who (as we have already shown) were probably the immediate western neighbours of the Shang, were made up mainly of tribes from the south-west, from what is now Szu-ch'uan. It seems natural that the northern tribes like the Kuei who were frequently subjected to Chou attacks, were on the side of the Shang.

We shall be returning to an analysis of the facts revealed by this inscription when we come to deal with the economy and culture of the Ti. All we wish to do here is point out the destructive, robber-raid character of wars like these against the Kuei and Wei. In the first account inscribed on the small Yü tripod the Chinese leader acquired 4,812 scalps and took 13,081 prisoners. In the second 237 scalps are mentioned, and the number of prisoners is illegible owing to damage to the text. These wars, laying waste the countryside, broke up the ancient tribal society which had grown up out of the preceding Neolithic agricultural society. They threw the original settlement of the land into confusion and at the same time created a threat to the Chou kingdom itself, crowding it with alien and decidedly not over-loyal masses of prisoners. This was inevitably a bad influence in times of crisis, such as the Hsien-yün invasions and the subsequent civil war under King Yu. The Shang and Chou expeditions are very reminiscent of the robber raids and slave-raids of the monarchies of the Near East like Egypt and Assyria. The reports of vast loot — in the first expedition thirty war chariots and in the second 104 horses and over a hundred chariots -- show that the way of life of these tribes was in no way different from that of the Shang or the Chou themselves. On the other hand it must be said that the former were still at the clan stage of development, or the tribal stage at best; they had not yet begun to form a centralised, unified system of power. The report in the Annals of the Bamboo Books speaks of twenty Ti kings, and in the two expeditions dealt with here we learn first of two leaders and only later, in the second, of one. The Shang inscription describing the expeditions against the Wei, too, mentions at least four chiefs who were captured (Li Hsüeh-ch'in 1959, p. 73).

Also the inscription on the small Yü tripod forces us to place the Kuei in a region where they could be the object of attack by both the Shang and the Chou. This fits in with our theory that they lived in the old home of the Ti, who were at the mercy of both. Li Hsüeh-ch'in (1959, p. 75) was of the opinion that the Kuei-fang attacked by Kao Tsung were not the same as the people mentioned in the Yü tripod inscription. He argued that "the Kuei-fang are mentioned together with the Wei-fang (25), and so they too must have lived close to southwestern Shan-hsi; therefore the Kuei-fang who were attacked by Chen at the order of Kao Tsung were different from the X (54) mentioned on the small Yü tripod". In his foreword (p. II) he confessed that in his third chapter (the passage quoted) he did not explain that the X (54) mentioned in the Yü tripod inscription, whom he dated in the reign of King K'ang, the son of King Ch'eng (Ch M H I, p. 249) were not the Kuei-fang of Kao Tsung's reign. In reality they were the X (54) mentioned in inscriptions of the time of Tsu Keng (55), the son of Kao Tsung (Ch M H I, p. 197). Li Hsüeh-ch'in gives no proofs to support his hypothesis, however. It must be remembered that the name of the barbarians mentioned in the Yü tripod inscription has been identified as Kuei by the finest Chinese paleographists, Wang Kuo-wei (1923, p. 2a et seq.) and Kuo Mo-jo (1957, vol. 6, p. 36a). Kuo Mo-jo says explicitly that the X (54) of our inscription are the Kuei appearing in *I-ching*. This is also the view of Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, pp. 274—275). It would require very convincing arguments to refute this identification. In my opinion the strongest argument against Li Hsüeh-ch'in's view is the fact that the name of the people on the Hsiao Yü-t'ing is written as (54) and the name on the battle-axe of the Count of Liang as (56). These are apparently identical characters, with the radical *ko* (57) (battleaxe) in the first case and *p'u* (58) (to strike) in the second. As we have already said, these X (56) also must have lived somewhere in the neighbourhood of Liang, that is to say the region where we must also look for the Wei (II 7) and the Kuei (3). We must therefore accept the identification of the two characters (54) and (3) as proved.

There is no need to pay particular attention to the chapter *Wang hui chieh* (59) in the *I Chou shu*, ch. 7, where (p. 12a) the Kuei-ch'in (60) appear together with the Western K'un-lun (61) in a completely fantastic context. It is however necessary to decide whether there were not other tribes, the Chui (II 46) and the Me (II 30) settled in ancient times on the territory we assign to the Ti and the Kuei. This could be assumed from the text of the poem Han-yi (II 31) in the *Shih-ching* (see above, pp. 51—52), where we read: "As his ancestor had received charge to preside over all the wild tribes (of that quarter). The king (now) gave to the marquis of Han the Chui and the Me, Forthwith to hold the states of the North, And to preside over them as their chief" (Ch Cl IV, 2, pp. 550—551). Leaving aside the question of whether the Duke of Han was not entrusted for a time with the office of *Pei* or *P'i-po*, "protector of the northern marches", held at first by the Duke of Huo and later the Duke of Yen, let us first deal with the question of who these Chui and Me were. The context suggests that the designation is a very general one; three terms are used successively in the text: *pai Man* (62), "all the Man", and finally *pei kuo*, "the northern states". We must assume that the names Chui and Me, given between these two terms, are equally general and mean something like "barbarians of the north". Me appears in an equally general sense in another poem in the *Shih-ching* (Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 628) in praise of the Duke of Lu. There we read: "He shall . . . extend his sway to the regions of Hsü (63), even to the States along the sea. The tribes of the Huai, the Man and the Me and those (still more) to the south, All will proffer their allegiance . . ." Here we find the Me away to the south-east, in quite a different area. The same applies to other cases it is not necessary to quote here. It is clear that in this poem the names Chui and Me are simply used as general terms for barbarians and not as the designation of a definite ethnic group.

The Ti in the old sources IX

Even in the oldest sources, as we have already seen, the Ti appear side by side with the Kuei. They are already present in the legends about the move made by the Chou ancestor, Ku-kung Tan-fu (1) from Pin (V 94) to Ch'i Mountain (II 4). In the version of the legend preserved by the *Meng-tzu* (Ch Cl II, pp. 50 and 52) it is the Ti who are said to have caused Tan-fu to move from Pin. The same version occurs in *Chuang-tzu* (ed. Hu Yüan-chüan, chapter Jang-wang (2), 28, p. 242) and in *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an, ch. 21, *Shen-wei* (3) p. 6b). It is not until we reach the third version of the legend in *Meng-tzu* (Ch Cl II, p. 31) that we find T'ai-wang (4) serving Hsün-yü (I 4). In the *Shih-chi* ch. 4 (Ch M H I, p. 214) all the barbarians are united; Tan-fu was apparently attacked by the Hsün-yü (I 4), the Jung and the Ti. This version is repeated in *Shih-chi*, chapter 110 (de Groot 1925, p. 5), where the name Hsün-yü is written (5). The introduction of the Hsün-yü into the Tan-fu legend is an innovation, as Wang Kuo-wei (1923, p. 6a) also decided; this scholar believed that the barbarians pressing on Tan-fu were the Kun I (V 71), because they are the only tribe mentioned in the Mien poem (V 69) (Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 441). Even if we accept the suggestion that the Hsün-yü were a new element introduced into the Meng-tzu version of the legend, we have still no grounds for assuming from this that the barbarians who troubled Tan-fu were the Kun I. Quite the reverse, the Kun I were driven back when the Chou moved to the base of Mount Ch'i. The usurpation of their old homeland would explain the relentless enmity of the Ch'üan Jung towards the Chou.

It is my opinion that the name of the Hsün-yü was introduced into the legend of Tan-fu at some time during the fourth century, when news of the northern nomad tribes began to filter into China. The name is very reminiscent of that of the Hun-yü tribe (6), which was subjugated by Mao-tun (7), the founder of the Hsiung-nu dynasty (de Groot 1921, p. 61). This view was put forward by Pulleyblank (1963 p. 226).[20] This presumably puts an end to all attempts to identify these Hsün-yü with the later Hsien-yün.

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[20] This is the view of E. G. Pulleyblank (1963, p. 226) who accepts Haloun's identification of the huen-you' < gun — δo (6) or (8), defeated by Mao-tun, with the Kwan'-you' < kwanh — δo mentioned together with the Yüeh-chih in the memoirial of Chia I about 172—169 B.C. (Haloun 1937, p. 248, Note 5). According to Pulleyblank this name closely resembles hiven-ynk < hun-δuk (5), (I 4), etc., whose raids of the Wei valley are part of the early Chou tradition.

If there were a grain of truth in the legend about the Chou being driven out of the Pin region by the Ti, it would explain why some of the districts in this region were part of the Shang marches and therefore perhaps the original home of the Ti, as we have suggested above.

In the present text of the "Annals of the Bamboo Books" (ed. Wang Kuo-wei, *Chu-shu chi-nien*, Chin-pen) there are only two recorded instances of the Ti invading the Wei valley. The first was in the fourteenth year of King Mu (9) (ch. B, p. 8a), where we read that in the autumn, in the ninth month, the Ti attacked the Pi (10); then again, in the thirteenth year of King I (11), they are said to have attacked the Ch'i (II 4) (ch. B, p. 9b). Neither of these reports is particularly reliable. In my study (Průšek 1952) I proved that the existing text of the Annals is a crude forgery based on various old quotations and material from widely different sources, in some cases arbitrarily altered, so that it is only permissible to use the old, original texts, and not the present one. In this particular case we find that the first report was taken from *Mu-T'ien-tzu chuan*, while the second was invented on the basis of a general statement in the *Han-shu*: we must therefore go direct to these sources. In *Mu T'ien-tzu-chuan* (ed. Ssu pu pei-yao ch. 5) there is a connected account of the Ling Ti (12). First (p. 3a) they are said to have brought gifts (a hundred good four-in-hand) and that they returned the jewel of Pi (10) and asked for peace; such is the interpretation of the commentator. Their chief even appears in person, Ch'ou-hu (13), visiting the Baron of Hsü (14) on the Wei (15), a river in Ho-nan. A little later (p. 3 b), when the king was spending the night in Fang (16), the people of Pi complained of trouble from the barbarians and said: "the Ling Ti had come to attack them". "The king sent Meng Yü (17) to punish the barbarians (the Jung)".

While the two episodes described here do not present improbable elements, I nevertheless feel that we have no reason to assume that a tradition involving real events has been preserved in them. The *Mu T'ien-tzu chuan* is a romance crammed with fantastic names and events and enacted in a quite unreal environment. Rarely do names occur which have any connection with reality, like those of the baron of Hsü (14) or the Duke of Huo (IV 24), and even in these cases there does not seem to be a real historical tradition involved.

The name Ling Ti, however, is not merely fantasy. In *Erh-ya* (ed. Sung-pen Shih-san ching 1887, 7, *Shih ti* (18) 9, p. 6a) Pei-ling (19) and Hsi-yü (20) are listed among the Chou localities. As we shall see later, Hsi-yü is mentioned in the *Pu-ch'i kuei* inscription (21) and must have lain somewhere between the River Ching (II 45) and Lo (II 40). It is not impossible that Pei Ling lay in the same area, and that the Ling Ti mentioned here were a reality. Both these passages in *Erh-ya*, however, are followed by the phrase *Yen-men shih yeh* (22). Yen men is a well-known mountain 35 *li* to the north-west of Tai district (23) in northern Shan-hsi. This would place the locality beyond the Chou sphere and outside our historical context. It would seem, however, that Kuo Mo-jo was right in thinking (1957, vol. 7, p. 106b) that the comment on Yen-men belongs to a Han commentary mistakenly incorporated into the text. In this case Pei-ling and Hsi yü would be within the Chou sphere and within the region where the struggle against the Hsien-yün took place, as we shall see.

It is likely that the other reference to the Ti invasion has no more solid a foundation in history. It probably arose through concretization of a general statement in the *Han-shu* (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien ch. 94), Hsiung-nu chuan (p. 1b), to the effect that "in the time of King I, the grandson of King Mu, the royal court fell on bad times and the Jung and the Ti attacked it in turn and tormented the Middle Kingdom". This was the usual method adopted by the compiler of the existing text of the Annals, and it is likely that this report, too, offers us no factual information.

On the other hand there is the possibility that another tradition preserved in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (ed. Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an ch. 6, Yin-ch'u (24), p. 6a) contains a grain of historical fact: "King Chao (25) of Chou led the expedition against the Ching (26) (Ch'u) in person. Hsin Yü-mi (27), a tall man (28) and very strong, rode (in the chariot) at the king's right hand. On their return, as they were crossing the River Han, the bridge gave way and the king and the duke of Ts'ai fell into the river Han. Hsin Yü-mi saved the king's life and bore him to the northern shore. He returned and rescued the Duke of Ts'ai. The Duke of Chou made him prince of the Western Ti (29). This was the "Long Duke" (30). Cheng Chia of Yin (31) moved to the western part of the Yellow River but was always thinking of his former home. This was the real beginning of the western music. The "Long Duke" carried on this music when he settled in the Western Mountains. The Duke Mu of Ch'in used this style and it was indeed the beginning of Ch'in music" (cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 72).

According to this tradition the music of Ch'in was really based on Yin music, brought to the west by King Cheng Chia, apparently Ho-tan-chia (32) (Ch M H I, p. 192) who was called Cheng (see Ch Cl III, 1, Prolegomena, p. 133) which was continued by Hsin Yü-mi, the "Long Duke", who ruled over the Western Ti. From this point of view the tradition may really have existed in Ch'in. It is quite a different matter, of course, whether Hsin Yü-mi rescued King Chao from the waters of the Han and consequently became governor of the Western Ti. Besides the account in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* there is a mention in the *Shih-pen*, an old source more recently compiled by Liu Hsiang (33) and Sung Chung (34) or (35), who lived at the end of the Second Han dynasty. In the edition comprised of old quotations compiled by Ch'in Chia-mu in 1816 (ch. 2, p. 4b) there is a somewhat different version of the Hsin-Yü-mi story, at least as far as the end is concerned: "when they were fording the River Han, (the king) plunged (into the water) in the middle of the stream. Yü-mi caught the king and later died. The Chou made his descendants Dukes of the Western Ti". The main question to decide is whether this is an independent tradition or a version based on the account in *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* and *Shih-chi*. From the differences between the two accounts and the very different context it would seem that we are dealing with a version independent at least in its details, even if it has perhaps sprung from the same source. There seem to have been more than one version of the expedition led by King Chao against the Ch'u. Whereas here we are told of an accident in the River Han, in *Tso-chuan* (Hsi year 4, Ch Cl V, 1, p. 139) Duke Huan of Ch'i, attacking the Ch'u, blames the ruler of the Ch'u for the fact that once upon a time "King Chao went on an expedition to the south and never came back". The Ch'u ruler tells him to ask "on the water's edge", a decidedly confusing reply. In the *Shih-chi* (Ch M H I, p. 250) the whole event is described in vague terms: "King Chao went on a journey of inspection to the south and never returned. He died on the banks of the River Chiang. His soldiers did not come to report the matter, but remained silent." The same is given briefly in the "Chronological Tables of the Three Dynasties". If the king died in the water or on the bank of the river (the Yang-tzu-chiang or the Han?) the report of Hsin Yü-mi's heroism becomes very doubtful of credence, although of course it is not impossible that the king died after he had been rescued. There is no way of explaining why his death was not reported, however. On the other hand, the "Long Duke" Ch'ang-kung is almost too reminiscent of the legends of the "Tall Ti" (II 54), analysed above, and does indeed seem to relegate Hsin Yü-mi to the sphere of Ti legend. The legend might be interpreted as a reflection of some tradition that the Chou had ruled the Western Ti at some point.

We might conclude that there was some connection between the dominant position of the Chou with regard to the Ti and the fact that at the funeral of King Ch'eng, described in the 22nd, chapter of *Shu-ching*, called Ku-ming (36) "The Testamentary Charge" (Ch Cl III, 2, p. 544) we find Ti performing normal service at court (p. 551). There were probably considerable numbers of them, since no other servants are mentioned — indeed the term Ti seems to be a synonym for servant at court. Since we know that under the Shang dynasty, too, the kings asked for auxiliary contingents from other tribes (e.g. the inscription "Ask for 300 archers from Shu", see Průšek 1958, p. 144), it is possible that this practice was already established under the first rulers of the Chou dynasty, and that these Ti came to court as an auxiliary contingent of this type.

On the other hand, contacts between the Chou and the Ti do not seem to have been too lively, for throughout the *Shu-ching* the name Ti occurs only twice: in the passage already quoted, and in the chapter *T'ang-shih* (37) (Ch Cl III, 1, p. 181), in the general sense of "northern barbarians".

The interpretations put forward so far may help us to realize the role played by the Ti in the final destruction of the Chou in the Wei valley. In the *Shih-ching*, in the poem *Chan-yang* (38) (Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 559), a work expressing profound discontent with the state of the country and said in the foreword (Ch Cl IV, 1, Prol., p. 77) to have been written in the reign of King Yu (39), this passage occurs (Legge's translation): "Why is it that Heaven is (thus) reproving (you)? Why is it that the Spirits are not blessing (you)? You neglect your great barbarian (foes). And regard me with hatred." Karlgren (1950, B, p. 237) translates the last sentence thus: "You (leave aside) do not care about your great anxieties (troubles), you only feel hatred against us." In my opinion Legge was right; his interpetation agrees with the traditional Chinese interpretations except for his translation of *chiai* (40) as "great" instead of "armour", *chia* (41). Karlgren proffers no explanation for his interpretation, and I feel that it would be difficult to find a reason why *ti* (42) should mean "anxiety" or "trouble"; perhaps only the sense of "distant" would support such an interpretation. The most serious objection to Karlgren's interpretation, however, is that it leads him to translate the same word quite differently in two different contexts, although it is not necessary. Thus in the passage from the *Shu-ching* quoted above (Karlgren 1950, A, p. 71) he translates the word *ti* as'servants'; while here he uses the translation 'troubles', although in both cases the most natural reading is that usually given, the name of the barbarians Ti. If this interpretation is correct, we could assume that the defeat of King Yu was partly due to his having neglected the "great" Ti — once more we read the epithet so often attached to the name — who may have been auxiliary forces of the barbarians who were supposed to protect the land. This would fit in with the legend of Pao Szu, for whose sake the king put his vassals against him so that when the critical moment arrived they did not come to his aid. Since the adjective "great" is so often linked with the name Ti, I suggest that here too we should interpret *chiai* in the sense of "great", as both the European commentators have done, and not in the sense of "armour" as the Chinese commentator would have it.

This brief account of information about the Kuei and the Ti in the west could perhaps bring us to the conclusion that in so far as the surviving but very fragmentary reports allow us to form any opinion of their way of life, they appear to have been more often the victims of looting expeditions and slave raids on the part of their Chinese neighbours than the aggressors. We have of course no knowledge of what happened to the small states in their neighbourhood, with whom their relations may have been quite the reverse. Nevertheless the pressure from barbarian tribes in the north described by Chinese writers from the beginning of the ninth century onwards does not seem to have been so strong in earlier times. The culmination of barbarian pressure on China was the invasion of the eastern regions by the Ti in the seventh century, with its disastrous effects on all the states round the T'ai-hang range, and consequences which were not completely overcome until several centuries later.

The migration of the Ti and the Ch'üan Jung

X

G. Haloun, who as we have seen made a systematic study of the history of the barbarian tribes and was the first to put forward the theory that the Ti were not autochtonous in eastern Shan-hsi and Ho-pei, rejected from the outset the supposition that the cause of their migrations was to be found in northern Shan-hsi and Shen-hsi, the region later settled by the Hsiung-nu (Haloun 1922, p. 437). The theory Haloun put forward was that the centre from which these migrations originated was the Wei valley. At first he believed the migrations were caused by the pressure of the Ch'in on the barbarian tribes in the Wei valley (op. cit. p. 437), but in the introduction to his book (1926, p. VI) he connected the movements of the barbarians with the arrival of Indo-European peoples on the western borders of China. He dated these movements as early as the end of the ninth century, and thought that pressure from these Indo-Europeans set the Ch'üan Jung moving; the latter in their turn caused the Ti to migrate in the seventh century. Haloun took up this theory again in 1937, when he tried to find the Scythians in the name Yüeh-chih and the Cimmerians in the name Hsien-yün.

We must now deal with the theory that the impulse which set the barbarian migrations in motion was the arrival of the Indo-Europeans on the western borders of China, and that the consequent movement of the Ch'üan Jung set the Ti moving in their turn. Today we must ask ourselves whether there is any need at all to speak about recent Indo-European migration to the western borders and whether in fact the Indo-Europeans had not been there from time immemorial. The reason behind the need to invent this Indo-European migration from west to east was the fact that Tocharian, one of the languages spoken by these most easterly Indo-Europeans, was a "centum" language, and thus similar in some respects to the languages of Western Europe: Latin, Celtic and Germanic languages, etc. and unlike the eastern languages, "satem" languages like the Slavonic, Iranian or Indian languages. It was therefore assumed that migration of some tribes speaking a language of the western type had to be postulated, a migration from west to east. W. H. Bailey still held this view in 1947, and in 1951 Heine-Geldern attempted to reconstruct the course of such a migration. His aim was to show that "in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. a powerful movement of the western peoples reached East Asia". Heine-Geldern connected this migration with various barbarian invasions of China towards the end of the ninth and during the first third of the eighth century (p. 225). He also attempted to bolster up his migration hypothesis with archaeological material; in his view the migration even touched northern Annam (the Dongson culture). These furfetched hypotheses, based on Haloun's proposed identification, have not been worked out sufficiently to require detailed consideration.

Meanwhile it has been proved that the "supposedly western features of the Tocharian languages are better explained as survivals in peripheral areas of features that were once found in common Indo-European. An innovation such as the replacement of palato-velar stops by fricatives, which led to the *centum-satem* split, originated in some central area and spread outwards to affect Baltic, Slavonic, Indo-Iranian and Armenian, but did not reach as far as Greek, Italic, Celtic and Germanic in the West, nor as far as the extreme eastern dialects" (Pulleyblank 1966, p. 13). It follows from this, of course, that the Indo-Europeans must have appeared on the Chinese borders very early indeed. It seems to me that we must accept the very sober conclusions of Professor Pulleyblank (p. 14): "Our general conclusion must, I think, be that the lands north of the Oxus were already occupied by Indo-Iranians not later than the middle of the second millenium. Even the most conservative estimate can hardly bring the date down more than a few centuries. This means that the Tocharians must have already been even farther east (or, perhaps, north-east, since the linguistic argument we have been using only implies some region beyond the Indo-Iranians)." And later (p. 15) Pulleyblank allows with certain cautels the possibility "that in the third millenium proto-Indo-Europeans were stretched all along the present political boundaries of China and perhaps even farther to the east. The kurgan culture, or Afanasievo culture as it is called in Central Asia, was followed in those parts in the second millenium by the Andronovo, which most archaeologists seem to agree was probably Indo-European". Pulleyblank's conclusions are fully in agreement with the views which the Soviet anthropologist G. F. Debec (1948) elaborated; the latter scholar classified both the Afanasievo and the Andronovo culture of the Altai-Sayan range as appertaining to Europoid races and believed the southern steppe belt to have been settled by Europoid peoples as early as the Paleolithic age (p. 83): "The earlier anthropological type inhabiting the southern Siberian belt was a Europoid type close to that of Cromagnon".

The state of archaeological remains in western China also argues against the theory that Indo-Europeans arrived suddenly, at a fairly late date, on the western frontiers. From the sites excavated so far, few as they are, it could be concluded that compared with other regions this was peaceful and almost stagnant. It has been aptly described by Chêng Tê-k'un (1963, p. 9): "Therefore Kansu was probably beyond the influence of the mature bronze culture of dynastic Shang. The region was quiet in those early historic times. The development and expansion of dynastic Chou was characteristically eastward, leaving this western province to the neolithic survivals. They developed in their own ways, and there was a considerable amount of mixing among these neolithic patterns, resulting in various types of combinations . . . The same situation prevailed also in Ching-hai to the south-west of Kansu. These neolithic survivals consisted of minority peoples who had managed to preserve their own identities by retiring to these cultural pockets in the outlying regions." J. C. Andersson had already expressed a similar opinion (1943. p. 222): "As a whole we are entitled to state that, in spite of certain innovations at different times, there was remarkable continuity in the development of the ceramic art of Kansu during two thousand years from 2500 500 B.C.". Chang Kwang-chih (1963, p. 235) considered the Ch'i-chia culture of Kansu to be the product "possibly of a different ethnic strain and definitely of a distinctive cultural tradition"; even if we accept Pulleyblank's view (1966, p. 29) that it is the product of the Yüeh-chih, there is still no evidence of a cultural revolution caused by an influx of foreigners. The culture is the fruit of a slow process of development from the foundations laid by those who formed the Yang-shao culture. These very features of the prehistoric cultures excavated in Kansu, however, argue against another of Pulleyblank's theories; while rejecting Haloun's hypothesis of Scythian and Cimmerian invasions, he nevertheless agreed with Chang Kwang-chih (1963, p. 133) that the basic cause "of a major transition of the Chinese society from self-contained, peaceful villages to war-like states with centralized government" (p. 31) was "a shock coming from outside". Pulleyblank thought it possible that this shock had been provided by Indo-Europeans, who introduced the war chariot and other western inventions to China. Pulleyblank (p. 30) thought it not impossible that "the Tocharians in Sinkiang and Kansu would then be the descendants of Indo-Europeans who had been left behind on this eastward march".

It is not possible to analyse these far-fetched hypotheses in detail here: both archaeological and linguistic research is still needed; but in so far as our subject is concerned we can reliably assume that there probably was no Indo-European invasion on the western frontiers of China in the early years of the first millenium B.C., causing the barbarians to migrate either to the west or to the north-west, for the simple reason that the Indo-Europeans had been settled there since time immemorial.

It would appear that the second part of Haloun's theory, linking together the Ti migration with movements by the Ch'üan Jung, is equally vulnerable to critical examination.

Not long after large-scale Ti expansion to the east their power seems to have spread southwards as well. We learn that in 644 Prince Ch'ung-erh (II 47), the future Duke Wen of Chin, went hunting with the prince of Ti on the banks of the river Wei (1) (*Tso-chuan*, Ch Cl V, 1, p. 188, and *Kuo-yü*, Wei-chieh, ch. 10, Wen-kung, p. 19); thus it is clear that the Ti had penetrated far to the south of the boundaries we tentatively drew for them above.[21] If Haloun's view was the right one, we should have expected that on the contrary, the Ti would have been pushed back to the north at this time. Furthermore, as we have shown above

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[21] In the *Tso-chuan* and the *Kuo-yū* the date of this event is not given exactly: P'o Ti (2) the eunuch is said to have been sent to murder the prince on the orders of Duke Huei of Chin. In the *Shih-chi*, however (Ch M H IV, p. 284), the date is given as the seventh year of Duke Huei of Chin, i.e. 644 B.C.

(p. 16). in the year 660 and perhaps in 658 as well, the Ch'üan Jung were repeatedly defeated by the small state of Kuo, so that it is not likely that they themselves would be capable of threatening the people which a few years later, in 652 and 651, was a serious menace to the Chin, and against which even a powerful coalition of the eastern states under Duke Huan of Ch'i had *no* success.

Nor do I see any grounds for the assumption that the Ch'üan Jung were a barbarian people, driven before other migrating barbarian tribes to follow the Wei valley from west to east, which is Haloun's view of Ch'üan history. I have already shown that the Ch'üan belonged to the cultural ambiance of the Shang dynasty and that their settlements were in the eastern reaches of the Wei rather than far to the west. In the first place, however, I feel that the role played by the Ch'üan Jung in the destruction of the Chou state in the Wei valley, a role which suggests invasion by a tribe of bellicose barbarians, was probably forced on them by the policy of robber-raids and destruction followed by the Chou kings themselves.

In the *Kuo-yü* (Wei-chieh, ch. 1, *Chou-yü* A, p. 1 et seq.) there is a long conversation between Mou-fu (3), the Duke of Ts'ai and King Mu (IX 9), whom he is trying to deflect from raiding the Ch'üan Jung. This whole passage has been taken almost literally into the *Shih-chi* (Ch M H I, p. 251 et seq.). Apart from general arguments against aggression, the speaker stresses that since the death of Ta-pi (5) and Po-shih (6), who may have been chiefs of the Ch'üan Jung, the Ch'üan Jung, had consistently fulfilled their obligations and always came to pay tribute whenever a new king succeeded to the throne. In addition the Ch'üang Jung ruler of the moment, Shu-tun (V 90) practised the virtues of his ancestors and would certainly fight resolutely and fiercely to protect his territory. In spite of this warning King Mu attacked the Ch'üan Jung and returned home with four white wolves and four white stags; from that time his vassals of the desert region (7) ceased to appear at his court. In the 87th chapter of the *Hou-Han-shu* (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien p. 2b) the event is recorded as follows: "In the reign of King Mu, the Jung and the Ti ceased paying their dues and the king therefore attacked the Ch'üan Jung in the west and captured five kings; he also acquired four white stags and four white wolves. The king then moved the Jung into T'ai-yüan (A 8)." The commentary on this passage quotes *Chu-shu chi-nien*: "In the twelfth year of the reign of King Mu, Pan the Duke of Mao (8), Li the Duke of Kung (9) and Ku the Duke of Feng (10) led their armies behind King Mu on an expedition against the Ch'üan Jung. In the tenth month, in winter, the king went on a journey of inspection in the north, and then attacked the Ch'üan Jung".

It looks as though the Annals of the Bamboo Books, on which the *Hou Han-shu* (ed. Fan Hsiang-yung 1957, p. 27) is mainly based, were strongly influenced by the legends which accrued round the figure of King Mu and were given literary form in the romance *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan*. Duke Pan of Mao and Duke Ku of Feng both appear in the romance (ed. Szu-pu pei-yao, ch. 4, p. 4a). It is probably from the legends that the localization of the expedition against the Ch'üan Jung in the north is taken, for we read at the beginning of the romance (ch. 1, p. 1a): "The son of Heaven attacked the Ch'üan Jung in the north". It is not improbable that the account in the *Kuo-yü*, of how the king brought back white wolves and stags, also derives from these legends, for it is a popular motif in the romance that different tribes present various animals to the king; there are also references to strange creatures, as in ch. 2, p. 3a, in the description of the "Spring hill (11)". It is even possible that the orientation of the romance was responsible for the localization of the Ch'üan Jung in the west, for the culmination of the book is an expedition by King Mu to the west, where he meets the Queen Mother of the West. This romantic legend does not seem to have inspired the real body of the story given by the *Kuo-yü*, however, for it is informed by a very critical spirit. Nor does it appear that the report of the deportation of the Ch'üan Jung to T'ai-yüan (A 8) came from the legend. The account in the *Kuo-yü* strongly suggests that the arbitrary attack on the Ch'üan Jung was a rash act which had catastrophic consequences, while the romance recounts frequent hospitality offered by the Ch'üan Jung to the king (ch. 1, p. 1b and ch. 4, p. 3b). It is not impossible that the story of the deportation of the Ch'üan Jung to T'ai-yüan belongs to the tradition critical of the king's actions; it would also suggest a reason why the tradition took such a hostile view of the conflict between the king and the Ch'üan Jung. The deportation was probably an example of the policy we have already described, of taking large numbers of captives; it was the policy pursued by the slave kingdoms of the Near East, and was aimed at acquiring slave labour. Naturally this deportation of large numbers of people from their home, accompanied by the inevitable cruelties, meant that the Chou domains were crammed with hostile elements which presented a great danger in times of crisis. Indeed, by the time King Mu's grandson was on the throne, King I (12) (894—879), we hear of fights against the Jung of T'ai-yüan, who were probably the Ch'üan Jung settled there by Mu. In the *Hou Han-shu* (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 87, p. 2b) we read: "King I was weak and degenerate and the barbarians of the desert regions stopped paying him tribute; the king therefore ordered the Duke of Kuo (V 113) to lead six armies to attack the Jung of T'ai-yüan . They reached Yü-ch'üan (13) and seized a thousand head of horse". The commentary adds: "See the Annals of the Bamboo Books". It is these reports of fighting against barbarians from T'ai-yüan that convince us that the traditional story of the deportation of the Ch'üan Jung to T'ai-yüan is based on fact, and that the deportation set off a long conflict that ended in the downfall of the Western Chou. Thus it seems that the reason for the migration of the Ch'üan Jung was not pressure from the West, but a policy of robbery and raiding by the Chou kings.

Fighting with the Ch'üan Jung probably kept on breaking out from that time onwards, although the references to it in the scraps of written sources available are very fragmentary. Apart from references to fighting against "barbarians" who cannot be identified, there is explicit mention of an expedition against the Jung of T'ai-yüan in Hsüan year 31 (*Chu-shu chi nien*, ed. Wang Kuo wei, *Ku-pen* p. 10a; Fan Hsiang-jung 1957, p. 32); *Hou Han-shu* (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 87 p. 3a) gives it as year 27. Finally, in the reign of King Yu, the Ch'üan Jung contributed substantially to the fall of the Chou in the Wei valley in 771 B.C. The Chou chronicles (Ch M H I p. 285), like the Ch'in chronicles (Ch M H II p. 14), recount that the western Jung (14), the Ch'üan Jung and Duke Shen (15) joined forces to attack the Chou, and that they killed King Yu at the foot of Li Mountain (16). This report, which is guaranteed by the Ch'in chronicles, shows that we cannot identify the Ch'üan Jung with the Western Jung without further investigation; they were two distinct groups.

We must return for a moment to the question of where the T'ai-yüan to which King Mu sent the Ch'üan Jung really lay. The report quoted above, concerning the expedition against the Jung of T'ai-yüan, also mentions a place called Yü-ch'üan. It is an interesting point that (as we shall see later) both these names occur in accounts of Hsien-yün invasions of Chou territory. In the poem *Liu yüeh* (17) in *Shih-ching* we read: "We smote the Hsien-yün, as far as T'ai-yüan" (Ch Cl IV 2, p. 283) and in the *P'u-ch'i kuei* (IX 21) inscription (Kuo Mo-jo 1957, vol. 7, p. 106a): "The Hsien-yün greatly attacked Hsi Yü" (IX 20). Speaking of this passage J. Legge expressed the view that the T'ai-yüan mentioned here is identical with the place of the same name now in the district of Yang-ch'ü (18) in Shan-hsi. Kuo Mo-jo (1957 vol. 7, p. 104 b) holds the same view. Legge was probably voicing the opinion of Chu Hsi, who according to Ku Yen-wu (19) (see Ku T'ing-lin chi, ed. Hsü Hsiao-t'ien, *Jih chih lu* (20) ch. 1, pp. 67—68, T'ai-yüan) was the first to make this identification with the place in Shan-hsi; earlier commentators to the *Shih-ching* expressed no opinions. Ku points out that the place in Shan-hsi is too far away, and suggests that the T'ai-yüan mentioned in the *Shih-ching* is the present P'ing-liang (21) in Kansu. Under the second Wei dynasty (VII 5) Yüan-chou (22) was established there, taking its name from the earlier T'ai-yüan. *Ta Ch'ing* (ch. 201, P'ing-liang-fu, p. 5b - 6a) located T'ai-yüan on the northern borders of Ku-yüan (23), a localization also accepted by the Geographical Dictionary (p. 143). Ku Yen-wu is certainly right to point out the great distance between T'ai-yüan in Shan-hsi and the Chou centre, but his identification of the place with Yüan-chou, of the later Wei, is based on no more than a similarity of name. As we shall prove later, the route taken by the Hsien-yün invasion was contained between the River Lo on the east and the Ching on the west, so that T'ai-yüan must have lain within this belt too. On the other hand the tradition that King Hsüan (II 22) took a census of the people in T'ai-yüan (*Kuo-yü*, ed. Wei-chieh, ch. 1, Chou-yü shang, p. 13), which we have no reason to doubt, forces us to conclude that T'ai-yüan was not far from the centre of Chou. Ku Yen-wu's location of T'ai-yüan in Ku-yüan does not appear very tenable in the face of this. Chavannes (Ch M H I, p. 277, Note 1) holds pretty much the same view.[22]

It seems to be even more difficult to place Yü-ch'üan, or Hsi Yü, if the two are indeed one and the same place. Kuo Mo-jo (1957, vol. 7, pp. 106a—107a) accepts the identity of the two names, but it is very diffult to determine where the place lay. Wang Kuo-wei rejects the idea that this Hsi-yü is the one mentioned in the *Erh-ya* (*Shih-ti* 9, p. 6a), discussed above. It seems to me that he was influenced by the gloss identifying this place with Yen-men, which as we showed above is a later addition wrongly incorporated in the text. It is noteworthy that in the *Erh-ya* the name Chiao-huo (33) is mentioned in the same context; in the poem *Liu-yüeh* (17) (Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 283) this place is also said to have been occupied by the Hsien-yü. Kuo Mo-jo (1957, vol. 7, p. 106b) believes that this Hsi-yü should be sought between the mountain Yü (34) in the district of Tu-yang (35), and Lung-ch'ih (36). Yü-shan is usually identified with Ch'i-shan (II 4) and Lung-ch'ih is the present Lung-shan. Kuo Mo-jo's opinion does not seem to be founded on a serious interpretation of the facts. I would suggest that we can say no more of Hsi-yü or Yü-ch'üan than we have said of T'ai-yüan, that it is somewhere on the scene of the fighting with the Hsien-yün and the Ch'üan Jung, somewhere to the north of Chou, and most probably somewhere between the rivers Lo and Ching. Beyond this we enter the sphere of pure speculation.

From what we have said we may conclude that the movements of the Ch'üan Jung were not provoked by any pressure from the west, nor were they the impulse setting the Ti tribes on the move. It is clear that we must look elsewhere for the reasons behind the migration of the Ti and many other tribes.

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[33] Starting from his assumption that the Hsien-yün moved east from the river Ching (I 10) across the river Lo (II 40) to P'eng-ya (IV 45) of the Ch'un-ch'iu period, north-east of the present Pai-shui district (IV 46) in Shen-hsi (see p. 55 above), Wang Kuo-wei (1923, p.9a) tries to place the T'ai-yüan mentioned in the *Shih-ching* in the same line of progress. He believes that it ist he T'ai-yüan mentioned in the *Tso-chuan* (Ch Cl V, 2, p. 573): "T'ai-t'ai (24) inherited his father's office, cleared the channels of the Fen (VI 44) and T'ao (25) and embanked the great marsh so as to make the great plain (*t'ai-yüan*) habitable". T'ao-shui is on the south-east of the present district of Wen-hsi (26), and apparently rises in the Heng-ling-shan (27) in Chiang-hsien (28). It is in this area that Wang Kuo-wei would like to place the T'ai-yüan mentioned in the *Shih-ching* and in the *Yü-kung* chapter of the *Shu-ching*. Here too he would like to find the T'ai-yüan to which King Mu moved the Ch'üan Jung, referring to a quotation from the *Chu-shu chi nien*, in the commentary to the *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan*, saying that King Mu captured five kings of the Ch'üan Jung and took them away to the east (see *Chu-shu chi nien. ku-pen*, p. 9a). T'ai-yüan would thus have lain to the east. He also refers to the statement in the *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan* (ed. Szu-pu pei-yao, ch. 4, p. 3b): "The Ch'üan Jung feasted the Son of Heaven wildly on the bank of the River Lei".
This was apparently after their forced move. According to Wang Kuo-wei Lei-shou-shan (30) is in P'u-pan hsien (31), which was the former P'u-chou (32), now Yung-ch'i (V 112). This interpretation goes against the whole historical context. If, to put it in the most general terms, the Hsien-yün appeared between the Ching and the Lo and attacked the Chou capitals in the south, it is not likely that they would flee back home along a route which led them through the heart of the Chinese states and forced them to cross rivers flowing north to south like the Lo and especially the great Huang-ho. Why should they flee to the south-western tip of Shan-hsi? It would be more likely that the Ch'üan Jung were moved to this region; we have seen above that the last reference to them is their defeat at the junction of the Wei and the Huang-ho (p. 46). It is difficult to imagine, however, that a census of the Chou people would be taken east of the Yellow River. The only logical interpretation of all these references seems to me to be that T'ai-yüan lay somewhere to the north of the Chou centre, between the Ching and the Lo.

The reasons behind the migration of the Ti and other tribes from west to east

XI

While we can find no evidence of major movement to the east or north-east among the barbarian tribes in the Wei valley, apart from the Chiang (II, 74) migration ending in Honan and organised by the Chin and Ch'in states, described above, we find many tribes on the move — the Hsien-yün, Pei Jung, Shan Jung and Ti — in fan formation apparently starting in the Ordos region and spreading south, south-east and finally due east. Later we shall attempt a history of these movements, but first we must consider the possible causes behind them.

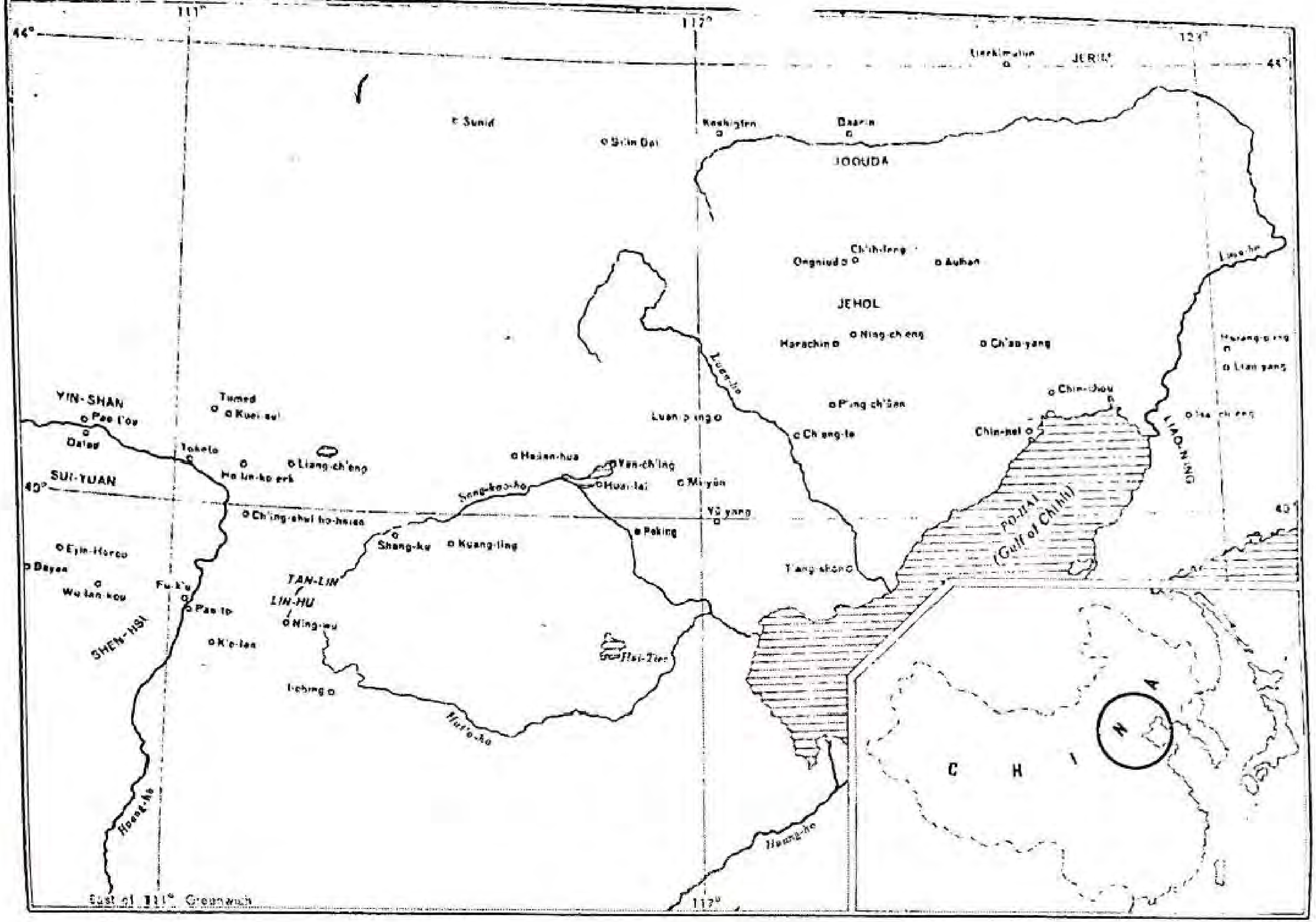
It is primarily the temporal context of these movements, within the ninth to seventh centuries, which leads us to connect them with the tremendous upheaval which shook the whole steppe belt during this time, and affected the steppes of eastern and central Europe, and stretched right over to the deserts and steppes of the region north of China. It was the greatest upheaval in the history of the Euro-Asian steppe and desert zone — the emergence of new economic groupings of nomad horsemen; it led to the complete disruption of the existing distribution of tribes in the steppe belt and wrought fundamental changes in the map of Europe and Asia as it then stood. It is not improbable that this stormy upheaval left its mark in the history of neighbouring China.

The long period of wars, raids and chaos which accompanied this process of emergence of the early nomads in the first centuries of the first millenium B.C. marks a turning point in the history of the steppe belt of Euro-Asia. Up to this time it was a fairly quiet region, with a predominantly agricultural and pastoral civilization, or even the still more primitive culture of hunters and fishers, at least in the earlier, more peaceful stages (cf. K. Jettmar, 1964, p. 215; he sets 1200 B.C. as the upper limit of this period of calm). In contrast, it is the fighting nomad horsemen who set the tone of life in the steppes in the following epoch.

In the second millenium B.C., from about the seventeenth or fifteenth century B.C. (S. S. Černikov 1957, p. 28; M. P. Grjaznov 1957, p. 22; F. Hančar 1950, p. 77; L. N. Gumilev 1960, p. 24), over vast stretches of central Siberia the Andronovo culture reigned, closely connected in the west with the timber-frame culture of the Volga basin and the south-east of present-day Russia (S. V. Kiselev 1951, p. 127; A. L. Mongait 1961, p. 149; and particularly S. V. Kiselev 1960).

To the south of this vast area inhabited by farmers and shepherds, there emerged at a very early date a belt of cultures characterized by painted pottery; this belt stretched from Rumania across southern Russia (the Tripoli culture) into Central Asia (Anau and Turkmenia), Hsin-chiang, as far as the Chinese cul-

ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE NOTHERN TERRITORIES


111°
117°
123°
44°
43°
40°
YIN-SHAN
Pao t'ou
Dalag
SUI-YUAN
Tumed
Kuei-sui
Tokoto
Ho lin-ko erh
Liang-ch'eng
Ch'ing-shui ho-hsien
Ejin-Horco
Bayan
Wu lan kou
Fu-k'u
Pao te
K'o-lan
SHEN-HSI
Hoang-ho
TAN-LIN
LIN-HU
Ning-wu
I-ching
Shang-ku
Kuang-ling
Sang-kan-ho
Hsüan-hua
Yen-ch'ing
Huai-lai
Mi-yün
Yü yang
Peking
Hai-Tien
Hut'o-ho
Sunid
Silin Gol
Keshigten
Baarin
JOOUDA
Luan-ho
Luan p'ing
Ch'eng-te
P'ing ch'üan
Ongniud
Ch'ih-feng
Auhan
JEHOL
Harachin
Ning-ch'eng
Ch'ao-yang
Chin-chou
Chin-hsi
T'ang-shan
Jerkimalun
JERIM
Liao-ho
Hsiang-p'ing
Liao yang
LIAO-NING
PO-HAI
(Gulf of Chihli)
Huang-ho
C H I N A
East of 111° Greenwich

ture with a similar painted ware (Yang-shao). Although no genetic relation has yet been discovered between the different regions as far as the ornament on this painted ware is concerned, we should not ignore the comment of Folke Bergman (1939, p. 23), who after listing the involved skills required for the production of painted pottery concluded that "all these circumstances taken together constitute such a complex phenomenon that it is very unlikely that the art of vase painting has evolved in different centra in chalcolithic times". Similarly J. Gernet in his latest book (1964, pp. 29 and 30) points out the pre-historic relationship between the regions of the steppe belt. Perhaps this relationship is reflected in the burial rites too — both in the west and in the east, in Kansu, the crouched skeletons are covered with ochre (R. Bleichsteiner 1939, p. 39). Recently (1960) S. V. Kiselev put forward the hypothesis that the people of the catacomb culture, which preceded the timber frame culture in the west and which was attributed to the Cimmerians (A. L. Mongait p. 155), spread to the east in the 1600 – 1300 period, and that their culture influenced the Shang culture. The latter then penetrated into the neighbouring regions.

A similarly relatively peaceful atmosphere seems to have reigned in the regions to the north of where the Great Wall now stretches. Here, too, in Neolithic times an agricultural mode of life began to replace the more primitive fishermen and hunter culture.

Microlithic implements of the Kelteminar type are characteristic of the culture of these hunting tribes, which already reveals local differences (Chang Kwang-chih 1963, pp. 127 and 128). This microlithic culture covered the whole region north of China, from Sinkiang in the west, through the Ordos region, and right to Manchuria (Chang Kwang-chih 1963, p. 119). Microlithic finds have come from Ch'ing shui-ho-hsien (1) in the bend of the Yellow River (Wang Yü-p'ing 1961B), from Dalad (2), SE of Pao-t'ou (3) (Wang Yü-p'ing 1963 A), and from Pao-t'ou itself (Nei Meng-ku 1961 A, pp. 5—6) as well as from Ejin Horoo (4) (latter source) and elsewhere. In Jehol twelve microlithic sites have been found on the banks of the river Uerkimulun (5) (Nei Meng-ku 1959, p. 2) and other finds have been made in the fore-region of Hung-shan (6) near Ch'ih-feng (7). (See the comprehensive report by Lü Tsun-eh 1958, pp. 25—40). Similar finds were reported from Chahar near Silin Gol (8) (Nei Meng-ku 1961 A, p. 5) and from Sunid (9) (Ch'i Yung-ho 1960, p. 85). The microlithic finds in Mongolia are accompanied by pottery decorated with lines made by grass or a toothed scraper (S. V. Kiselev 1947 B, p. 358). The vast area over which this culture has been discovered, from Sinkiang over Mongolia and as far as Manchuria, resulted in the name "Gobi culture" (Folke Bergman 1939, p. 36): "This collective name seems very appropriate as long as we can assign no more precise chronological limits or any classification in well-defined groups". The same view was held by the author of the summary in Egami Namio Inner Mongolia (1935, p. 3) who said: "Indeed the Gobi plateau had only one and the same microlithic culture in neolithic times". (p. 4): "Mongolian neolithic culture of the eastern-most links of the microlithic culture, which covered the whole Eurasian and Afro-asian steppe and desert zone". The microlithic culture appears to have been widespread in Manchuria too (Chang Kwang-chih 1963, pp. 116–117).

The people of the microlithic culture must at one time have inhabited large areas of China proper, for microlithic finds have come from as far south as Chin-ch'eng hsien (10), Kao tu hsien (11) and Ch'in shuei hsien (12) in south-east Shan-hsi (Kuo Yung 1959, p. 63). Microlithic finds accompanied by Yang-shao pottery were excavated in Shan-hsi and Ho-pei (Ho-pei sheng wen-hua-chü wen-wu kung-tso-tuei 1959, pp. 332–333; Li Chieh-min and Meng Chao-lin 1958, pp. 45—46; An Chih-min 1953 B, pp. 143—152). Microlithic elements were still very conspicuously present in the Lungshanoid assemblages at Ta-ch'engshan (13) in northern Ho-pei (Ch'en Hui, T'ang Yün-ning and Sun Te-hai 1959, pp. 17—35). "It seems likely, therefore, that this area had a Microlithic substratum into which Yang-shao and Lungshanoid elements were introduced with or without agriculture" (Chang Kwang-chih 1963, p. 113). It is not improbable that some of the tribes the Chinese fought against in historic times were the bearers of this microlithic culture.

North of the Great Wall, in the region where microlithic culture predominated in mesolithic and neolithic times, as we have seen, agricultural settlement began to spread; it was connected with China on the one hand, and with the northern Siberian area on the other. Relics of this agricultural way of life have been found in many places along the Great Wall and particularly in the region round the bend of the Yellow River in the Ch'ing-shui-ho district. Many settlements have been discovered, testifying to relatively dense population, and the majority of the stone implements found on these sites are farming tools. The red pottery found here is related to the Yang-shao culture (Wang Yü-p'ing 1961 B; Nei Meng-ku 1961 A, pp. 5–6). The pottery found at Bayan (14) is closely related to the Yang-shao culture in Kan-su (ibid.). Chinese influences in the region are shown by the large *li* with short legs found near Tokoto (15) on the Yellow River (Nei Meng-ku 1961 A, p. 6) and the finds near Ejin Horoo (4), which are of a similar type (Wu Te-yüan 1959, p. 72, and Wang Yü-p'ing 1961 A). Relics of a similar culture have been found in Hu-ho-hao-t'e (16) (evidently the former Kuei-suei (17) on the railway line to Pao-t'ou (3), and round Ejin Horoo (Wu Te-yüan 1959; Wang Yü-p'ing 1961 A; Wang Yü-p'ing 1963 B). Scholars also see certain affinities between the pottery found at Dalad (2), about 30 km. south of Pao-t'ou, and the Yang-shao culture (Wang Yü-p'ing 1963 A, pp. 9—11).

It is clear that the region in the bend of the Huang-ho and its environs were strongly influenced by the Chinese agricultural civilization which crystallized in the Yang-shao culture.

Affinities with the Chinese farming cultures were found in an earlier stratum on the near side of Hung-shan (6). The Japanese scholar Hamada believed that the painted pottery found here had developed from the corresponding type of pottery in Kan-su, but Chinese scholars prefer the view that it is related to Yang-shao pottery in Shen-hsi and Ho-nan, and only distantly to that of Kan-su. Sherds of *li* were also found on the further side of Hung-shan by Chinese archaeologists, another proof of links with China. (Lü Tsun-eh 1958, pp. 25—40). Relics of scratch-farming have been found almost on the northern boundaries of Jehol, at Keshigten (18) and in Baarin (Nei Meng-ku 1961 A, pp. 5—6).

That the influence of Chinese farming cultures also penetrated into Manchuria can be seen from the finds of Yang-shao pottery at Sha-kuo t'un (19), south west of Chin-chou (20) (G. Anderson 1943, p. 152), and particularly the discovery of a settlement markedly influenced by the Lung-shan culture — black glaze pottery, semi-lunar stone knives with two holes, etc. — near Ch'ao-yang district (21). This site is also an illustration of the unusually mixed culture of this region in Neolithic times. Besides affinities with the Lung-shan culture we find affinities with the culture unearthed on the western slopes of Hung-shan, at Ch'ih-feng, and thus affinities with the Yang-shao culture, while the foundation of this culture is still the microlithic culture of the north-east, characterized by pottery with a comb ornament (Liu Ch'ien 1956, pp. 19—25).

These examples of the influence of Chinese agricultural civilizations on the northern regions show that in Neolithic times the northern steppe belt was a relatively calm region where even peaceable farmers need not fear to settle. It is also evidence of the basic unity of the whole belt even in ancient times, with a single dominant economic and cultural form. At this stage it was the early agriculture, whether accompanied by painted pottery as in the south belt we have been discussing, or combined with the herding of flocks as in the northern timber-frame and Andronovo cultures. At the same time a fundamental historical rhythm can be observed determined by the polarity between the traditionally agricultural regions and the steppe belt. An increase in dynamic activity in the one meant regression in the other, and vice versa. During the period when the dominant cultures of the steppe were Neolithic, Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age, the region was a sort of political vacuum into which the waves thrown off by the intense political life of the cultural centres beyond could ripple and spread; one such centre was China, when the Lung-shan culture was being formed, and later when the militant Shang state arose.

The most eloquent proof of the dynamics of the Chinese agricultural region during this period is to be seen in the Chinese cultural elements found in the Karasuk culture in the far-off Minusinsk basin and adjacent territories.

It is only possible to give an approximate date for the emergence of the Karasuk culture in this area. The best authority on prehistoric Siberia, S. V. Kiselev, attributes the beginnings of the Karasuk culture to the time of the Shang dynasty (1951, p. 145, 1947 B, p. 360). R. Bleichsteiner (1939, p. 26) proposes a date c. 1000 B.C. for the Karasuk culture, while K. Jettmar (1950, p. 121) sets the limits of its existence at 1000 — 700 B.C. and elsewhere (1964, p. 69) dates its emergence with the formation of the Chou state. M. Loehr, on the other hand, set the dates 1500 — 1000 (1949 A, p. 61); F. Hančar (1950, p. 77), dates Karasuk in 1000 B.C., M.P. Grjaznov (1956, p. 36 and 1957, p. 25), the temperamental critic of Kiselev's views, places this culture in the period from the end of the second millenium to the eighth century. I feel that the most important point raised in connection with the dating of the Karasuk culture is the statement by B. Karlgren (1945 B, pp. 101—144 and esp. 143) that the Chinese influence cannot be later than ± 900 B.C. and that it reached the Karasuk culture some time before 800 B.C.; we shall return to this in another context later. As we shall see, general considerations force us to put the beginnings of the Karasuk culture further back in time. I believe it is fairly correct to say that in the last centuries of the second millenium B.C. the Europoid people of Andronovo culture in the Minusinsk region and thereabouts were driven out or perhaps submerged by people of the new Karasuk culture, so called from the left-bank tributary of the Yenisej at Bateň (S. Teplouchov 1929 B, p. 44). Numerous alien groups must have arrived there; this can be deduced from the considerable increase in population in the area, as seen in the growing numbers of skeletons in the graves (Kiselev 1951, p. 109), and from the new anthropological type then found. The old Europoid type was superseded by a type with narrow face, round orbital bone, a medium or even flat nose, and head-measurements corresponding to those of the Neolithic inhabitants of China. From the measurements made by the Soviet paleo-anthropologist F. Debec (1948, p. 81—83) Kiselev elaborated his theory of the migration of certain tribes from the Chinese borders to the Yenisej region. (Kiselev 1951, p. 114 et seq.). Chêng Tê-k'un (1963, p. 140) goes so far as to speak of Shang warriors resettled in the north, which is probably too far-fetched. Recently V. P. Alekseev has refuted Debec's theory, claiming that the Karasuk racial type was very mixed, with a predominance of the Pamir-Fergan type, probably similar to the Tadjik and Uzbek type of today. Alekseev concludes from this that we should assume a migration from Central Asia (cf. K. Jettmar 1964, p. 68). It seems to me that the anthropological material has not yet been sufficiently analyzed to provide a reliable criterion for decision in such matters (J. Průšek 1967, pp. 331—332), while the cultural context is far more convincing; this points unequivocally to the south-east, to the Chinese sphere. A careful analysis of the bronze implements found has enabled B. Karlgren (1945 B, pp. 101—144) to show convincing parallels between the socketed celts, square axes, knives and daggers from the Chinese and from these northern cultures. Chêng Tê-k'un (1963, p. 139) has pointed to apparently typical Chinese elements in the Yenisej culture, such as *pang* bow-fitting, the *mao* spear-head, the *ko* dagger axe, the *tao* knife and various types of *lien-chu* fittings, "all typical of Shang-Chou origin"; he added that similar elements in bronze and pottery were found in the stone-cist culture in Inner Mongolia, serving as a link between southern Siberia and Shang-Chou China. Unfortunately his generalizations are not supported by a more detailed analysis of the material, and cannot therefore be accepted as proved. Kiselev's reminder (1960) that over 30 *ting* and *li* tripods have been found in the Baikal region seems to me a particularly important piece of evidence of the close links between Siberia and the culture of China; these are forms so distinctively characteristic of Chinese culture that they cannot be attributed to any other region. Kiselev added that these finds were accompanied by the most typical Karasuk items, bronze knives and semi-lunar ornaments, such as are found in Ordos too;

one of his students found the same objects, in a slightly changed form, in Mongolia. The most striking link between the Karasuk culture and the agricultural cultures of China is obviously the exceptionally high degree of skill revealed by the Karasuk bronzes, which can be explained only in terms of the mature metal-working of China.

One basic characteristic distinguishing the new Karasuk culture from the earlier Afanasievo and Andronovo cultures is its more dynamic spatial distribution. While Afanasievo relics are only found in the valleys of the Yenisej and its tributaries, Andronovo relics occur at considerable distances from the rivers, and the Karasuk deposits show an even wider expansion (Kiselev 1951, p. 106 et seq.). Even more striking is the vast geographical distribution of the Karasuk culture, particularly if we remember its very specific character. While the centre of the culture was on the Yenisej, we find it penetrating as far as the Tomsk region, and a characteristic Karasuk complex occurred in the steppes to the north of the Altai, in the northern reaches of the Ob, Bija and Katuna. In Altai itself the influence of the Karasuk culture is not so strong, the relics suggesting stronger ties with an Andronovo past (Kiselev 1951, p. 156). Local differences between the various branches of the Karasuk culture have been ascertained; there were the Yenisej steppes, the region round the Tom and the Ob in the Novosibirsk-Barnaul area, the Ob in the Barnaul-Biisk area, the river Nura in central Kazachstan and the Zamaraev type culture of the Čeljabinsk steppes, round the river Tobol and in the Kustanaja region (M. P. Grjaznov 1957, p. 27). To the east elements of the Karasuk culture are found south of the Baikal, in the Transbajkal region as far as Čita, in the Selenga basin and in Mongolia. Since similar finds have come from Inner Mongolia as well (Kiselev 1951, p. 119 ff.) it is clear that we must investigate the reasons for this unusually wide distribution of the Karasuk culture. The most important reason is clearly the decline in the importance of farming, compared with the previous period, and the consequent increased mobility of the Karasuk tribes. Although crops played a certain part in the Karasuk economy, as can be seen from the heavy bronze sickles which have no counterpart either in the previous culture or in that of China (Kiselev 1951, p. 161), the fundamental element was now sheep breeding (S. Teplouchov 1929B, p. 45). Bones found in the graves were 58.6 % sheep as against 33.3 % cattle and only 6.3 % horse bones (Kiselev 1951, p. 142). Sheep-herding calls for a considerable degree of mobility, and the Karasuk equipment seems to have been adapted to this way of life. It may have influenced the development of the round, bulbous Karasuk pottery, made for a simple fire without a stand, and unlike the flat-bottomed Andronovo vessels. The four-wheel cart suggests the same trend, and there may already have been some form of light, transportable dwelling, for in the succeeding Tagar period the true yurta was already in use (Kiselev 1951, p. 161). A very significant feature of the Karasuk culture, to which we shall be returning, was the importance of the dog. While every barrow contains sheep bones, some have beside them a special barrow for the dog (S. Teplouchov 1929 B, p. 45). This form of economy, in which flocks and herds, particularly of sheep, assumed a greater importance, can be called a considerable advance on the earlier Andronovo agriculture, and provided the people with a better life; the growth in population is one proof of this, as we have already observed. Pastoral nomadism, complemented by the inefficient and laborious scratch farming, was a definite step forward (M. P. Grjaznov 1957, p. 26).

The general opinion among scholars, with the exception noted above of V. P. Alekseev, is that the Karasuk culture was brought from somewhere along the Chinese borders. Even M. P. Grjaznov (1956), who rejected Kiselev's theory that the Karasuk culture arose when some Northern Chinese people settled by the Yenisej and later by the Tom and the Ob, admits that a Sinoid type may have migrated to the Yenisej (p. 41). He qualifies this, however, by suggesting that the new arrivals did not form the main body of the population, since the previous settlers remained where they were (Grjaznov 1957, pp. 21–28, esp. 26 et seq.). This is most clearly seen in the Altai region in the graves and the types of weapons (Kiselev 1951, pp. 156ff.).

There is far less clarity, however, when we come to decide who purveyed this Karasuk culture. Russian scholars usually attribute it to the Ting-ling (II 63), whom they link with the Ti (II 65) and the Ti-li (II 62). This was the view of Kiselev (1951, p. 180), who was convinced that the Ting-ling settlements stretched from the Baikal as far as the Tomsk area, and to the west of the Ob in Central Kazachstan (ibid., pp. 182ff.). He had already formed this opinion earlier (Kiselev 1947, pp. 360ff.), and took it on de Groot's authority that the Red Ti was the name of the Ti-li people. We have already seen that de Groot identified the Ti with the Turks, assuming that the name was a transcription of the word Türk (de Groot 1921, p. 5). This identification of the Ti with the Ti-li or the Ting-ling was based on the chapter *Ting-ling chu ta hsing* (22) in *Wu Hu shih-liu kuo* (23), or the History of various states set up in China by the Hsiung-nu and other tribes in the years 304–439 (see Ma Ch'ang-shou 1962, pp. 1–2). Among the ruling families of the Ting-ling there actually are names reminiscent of the old Ti, such as Ti (II 65), Hsien-yü (II 66) and others. This however refers to a time at least six hundred years removed from the final annihilation of the last Ti, and it is probable that the Ting-ling clan names were adapted by Chinese scribes to the old Chinese tradition, and have no historical authenticity. L. N. Gumilev (1960, p. 24) believed the Ting-ling were the inhabitants of the edges of the Gobi desert, of the Sayan-Altai ranges, the Minusinsk region and Tuwa. He assigned them fair hair, a decided and even aquiline nose, a fair complexion with rosy cheeks, and light-coloured eyes. He attributed the Afanasievo culture to these people. Naturally, if his opinion were correct, it would be the end of the theory that the Ting-ling were the Ti, and the bearers of the Karasuk culture, for the Karasuk people were a clear Mongoloid type.

The predominance of sheep-rearing in the Karasuk economy induced some scholars to attribute it to a people close to the Ch'iang (II 72) hunted by the Shang kings, and since these Ch'iang have been identified with the Tibetans, N. N. Čeboksarov suggested that the Karasuk culture was purveyed by the Tibetans.

K. Jettmar (1950, p. 117) who reported this view, thought it too far-fetched and expressed it in a modified form (p. 117): "But there may in fact have been tribes, even far out in the Gobi, who were akin to the Chinese, the northern wing, so to speak, of the Sinides. Later on, in the same place we find Turco-Mongols. Therefore we may reasonably suggest that the Tibetans are partly composed of the descendants of those who were displaced when the Northern Sinides were defeated."

The theory that the people of the Karasuk culture were at any rate akin to the Tibetans is based primarily on the importance of sheep in their economy. The name Ch'iang, usually identified with the Tibetans, is expressed by a character in which the ideogram for a sheep is incorporated, which implies that the sheep was of particular significance in their life. The sheep was always the prime element in Tibetan economy, as W. Eberhard pointed out (1942 B, p. 314): "Die Ch'iang und die westtibetische Kultur sind beide in ihrem Grundcharakter Kulturen von Schafzüchtern, andere Tiere wie Pferde, Yaks, Schweine, Hunde, Hühner treten nur sehr nebenbei auf und spielen keine Rolle im Gesamtwirtschaftsleben". Sheep-rearing thus links the Karasuk culture with the marginal cultures of north-west China and sets it apart from those of the north-east, where sheep never enjoyed such importance. This relationship is even clearer if we bear in mind that the pig, for instance, played no part in the Karasuk economy (Kiselev 1951, p. 160) while it was an important element in the Neolithic culture of Jehol (Lü Tsun-eh 1958, pp. 25—40), where this economy was supported by numerous oak groves (Lattimore). Naturally when we speak of a relationship between the people of the Karasuk culture and the ancient Ch'iang and later Tibetans, we are referring only to a general racial and perhaps linguistic adherence to this great branch of the Indo-Chinese race, and not to a specific nation or tribe. We have seen that the people of the Karasuk culture were very varied and there were probably considerable language differences within the group; there may have been different tribal languages. If we accept the hypothesis that at least some of the people of the Karasuk culture came from the south, it is clear that pigs would not be suitable animals to take across the desert, nor were they suitable for the semi-nomad life; for this sheep were necessary, especially where the pastures were in the highlands, as was the case with the Tibetans. Kiselev (1951, pp. 160ff.) also pointed out that the Karasuk shepherds could not remain settled in one place, but would be forced in winter to seek pasture for their sheep at higher altitudes, where the snow was swept away. On the other hand, the pig is an animal which moves about with relative difficulty. That the Karasuk people were not very settled is seen, too, from the shallowness of the cultural stratum they left behind, and the absence of timber in the graves. The Afanasievo people had already built timber constructions above their barrows, and the custom was even more usual in the Andronovo culture. With the Karasuk people this disappears.

It is an important point to notice that since the people of the Karasuk culture were equipped with good weapons, they did not feel particularly threatened.

Forty-two graves dating from this period have been excavated in the upper reaches of the Ob; in none of them were there any traces of weapons. Similarly in the Minusinsk basin hundreds of Karasuk barrows failed to reveal weapons, with the sole exceptions of arrowheads in the family graves of wealthy nobles in Central Kazachstan, and a bronze axe found in the largest Karasuk barrow in Minusinsk (M. P. Grjaznov 1956, pp. 84ff.). Evidently no need was felt, as yet, to give the dead man weapons for his journey to the next world, an important aspect in which this culture differed from its successor. Plenty of excellent weapons seem to have made it easy for the people of the Karasuk culture to override the previous population, the Europoid people. As in China under the Shang dynasty (Chang Kwang-chih, p. 138), the people of the Karasuk culture did not use the horse for riding, except perhaps in the last phase of the period; horses were only harnessed to carts (Kiselev 1951, p. 257)[23] but perhaps, to a certain extent, they were used for food (Kiselev p. 142).

If we assume that the people of the Karasuk culture were tribes related, at least in culture, to the Ch'iang whom the Shang kings hunted, or to the apparently politically amorphous Me tribes mentioned above, it is not difficult to imagine that the looting raids organized by the Shang and later by the Chou against various tribes and particularly against the Ch'iang, in order to acquire slaves and prisoners for their human sacrifices, brought about mass emigration by these less belligerent tribes anxious to get out of harm's way. These mobile tribes could wend their way far north, and we should not forget that the Ch'iang owned horses — we have quoted references to the Ma Ch'iang (V 37), the "horse-owning Ch'iang" and the To-ma Ch'iang (V 38), "the Ch'iang with many horses". We have also seen that tribes like the Kuei (II 2), who were fought by the Shang and the Chou, used chariots; this means that they were as well equipped for war as were their enemies, and could use the same policy towards their weaker neighbours as the one they themselves had been the victims of. Thus expansive waves may have rippled outwards from the Chinese centre until they reached the far-away steppes.

It can be presumed that the spread of the mature Bronze Age culture and semi-nomad economy provided an economic stimulus throughout this region, strengthening the trend towards a pastoral and nomad form of existence. The idea inevitably arises that this successful system of economy (Grjaznov 1957, pp. 21—28) was not without its attraction for other tribes and that it became a model to be imitated, thus encouraging the growth of similar trends in other economic complexes. I am of the opinion that the spreading of the Karasuk culture in this region was an important step towards nomad economy, and that the fact that sheep-rearing tribes spread here was a direct stimulus towards the emergence of mounted nomad tribes. The adoption of this form of nomadism I regard as the culmination and clash of two distinct developmental trends, which moved in the same direction and were bound to come into conflict.

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[23] Grjaznov (1947, pp. 9—17, esp. p. 14) believes that the horse was used as a mount by the Karasuk peoples, but not to a significant degree. S. I. Rudenko (1944, p. 267) is exaggerating, in my opinion, when he declares that there is no evidence prior to the Scythian period that men rode on horseback or used the horse as a draught animal, and that only "the beginning of the first millenium can be taken as the beginning of the horse as a means of transport and of horse-rearing in our steppes". Horses were harnessed to carts in the regions surrounding the steppe belt as early as the second millenium B.C., and there is no reason to suppose that this technique did not spread to the steppes.

The emergence of mounted nomadism

XII

Earnest research on the part of Russian and Soviet scholars has shown the economic conditions which gave rise to nomadism over the vast area which supported the Andronovo culture. In effect it was a split between the two forms of economic life within that culture, between scratch farming and animal husbandry. Some time about the beginning of the first millennium some tribes began to keep flocks and herds; in the winter they grazed near the village and in summer they were driven up into the hills or far away into the steppe. This considerably extended the sources of food for the flocks and at the same time protected the cultivated patches round the settlements from damage by grazing herds (M. P. Grjaznov 1950 B, p. 3). The use of horses to get about gave the shepherds much greater freedom of movement over an increasingly wide radius round their homes (Grjaznov 1957, pp. 21–28), until they finally broke away altogether and became nomads.[24] It was the large-scale rearing of horses and sheep that made this split between farming and animal husbandry possible, for the horse and the sheep are the only domestic animals capable of finding pasture under the snow (S.J.Rudenko 1952, p. 24). Cattle need fodder in the winter, and a roof over them. The new husbandry opened up far greater supplies of food in regions where the rainfall was low and the soil difficult to cultivate with primitive implements.

It should of course be realized that elements of scratch farming persisted among all nomad tribes, and that pure nomadism was the exception. S. J. Rudenko (1952, p. 22 ff.), pointed out that it would be wrong to draw a sharp line between settled farmers and nomads in the ethnic groups under study. S. J. Černikov (1960, p. 19) stresses that there was no pure nomadism, and that we can only speak of a predominant form, not the only form of economy. As a rule one section of an ethnic group lived more as nomads while the other section of the same group lived more as farmers; the two forms were in a state of constant flux, and the necessity for symbiosis was always present (S. J. Rudenko 1952, p. 24). K. Jettmar (1966 C, p. 4) believes on the other hand that "we can only use the term nomadism where the whole population lives with no fixed abode and moves in a cyclic fashion, even if the moves are interrupted by periods at rest". An important requirement for nomad existence was the invention of light transportable dwellings-yurtas, which could be placed on carts if necessary. The search for new pastures and sources of water for larger flocks led the nomads into unexplored steppes, semi-desert regions and highlands.

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[24] This fundamental thesis of the Soviet scholars was well stated by K. Jettmar (1951, p. 148): "Western research is often inclined to make the extensive migration of certain peoples responsible for the appearance of mounted warriors in so many places. In opposition to this, Russian research tried for years to show that simultaneous processes at several points, fairly independent of one another, have led to the formation of 'mounted cultures', namely the splitting up of the agricultural and cattle-breeding complexes (i.e. in this case of the Andronovo and the Karasuk peoples) into settlers on the one side, and cattle-breeding nomadic tribes on the other".

This development suggests that the steppe farmers, particularly those of the Andronovo culture, became nomads gradually, without greater conflicts and catastrophes (see K. Jettmar 1964, p. 216). Today there is no longer any doubt that the people of the Andronovo culture are genetically related to the early nomads; evidence is particularly abundant in eastern Kazakhstan. For several centuries the nomad type there remained the same Europoid type, while Andronovo traditions persisted in bronze and pottery, as well as in the funeral rite (S. S. Černikov 1957, pp. 28—33). "The Andronovo culture came to an end in the eighth and seventh centuries when it had exhausted all the possibilities of development as a steppe shepherd-farmer culture of the Bronze Age. The different territories it had covered were by then distinguishable as early nomad cultures: Sarmat, Sacae, Amirab, Pazyryk (all three Majemiric, Pazyryk (Sibin) and Bolšaja Rečka)" (p. 33).

It is also probable that the nomadic form of life gradually gave rise to a new human type, that of the shepherd-horseman who was also a warrior. Probably even in the farmer-nomad period it was primarily the young men who travelled with the herds; the distribution of work according to sex and age-group probably led to the formation of men'sbands which became the schools and forcing grounds for the new warrior-horsemen. The young men had not only to watch their herds, but to guard them against predatory animals and humans. We can easily imagine that the search for new pastures itself led to clashes, more serious in the critical seasons of summer and autumn drought, or in the winter snow-storms. The inevitable catastrophes of the early period, before the nomads had gained experience, could have suggested to them the desirability of seeking preservation (or compensation) by attacking their neighbours. At this stage of development, too, the opportunity for acquiring wealth not by the natural increase of the herds, but by raiding others, presented itself for the first time. The warrior-archer on horseback became the decisive figure in society. This new turn taken by the social organization also led to the formation of larger tribal groups and to greater authority for the chiefs although there still existed the relatively democratic body of free archers (S. J. Rudenko 1952, p. 24; S. S. Černikov 1960, pp. 17—21).

This consistent theory of the emergence of nomadism, as elaborated by Soviet scholars, is generally accepted; it suggests that the change was a gradual one from a dual form of economy to two specialized and differentiated forms. Disagreement begins when we proceed to discuss the culmination of the whole process, the emergence of true horse-mounted warriors and their expansion. The point is whether this process was gradual right through, or whether the last phase represented a sudden crystallization like that of a substance subjected for a long time to mechanical influences. The point at issue is thus whether the change-over to horse-nomadism in its final phase took place as part of a general struggle which determined the character of the early nomads, or whether it was a relatively peaceful process right to the end. These two views of the last phase in the development of horse nomadism have led to two hypotheses as to the chronology of the change.

S. J. Rudenko stands for the theory of gradual development; he formulated his standpoint as follows (1960, p. 197): "It is perfectly clear that the feeding of larger herds of horses and flocks of sheep was bound up with the necessity of appropriating immense tracts of semi-desert, till then not used for the rearing of livestock. This process accompanied by the inevitable sacrifices must undoubtedly have been slow and required not decades but whole centuries." Rudenko gives the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. as the latest possible date at which this change took place, stimulating the rearing of large herds of horses and in some places of cattle too, and of flocks of sheep in southern Siberia as well as in the steppes to the east and west. He points out that by the seventh century B.C. powerful groups of nomad tribes already existed in these regions, and at the end of the eighth and beginning of the seventh century Scythian tribes were appearing in Altai from the south and west, with their Scythian type culture already matured (Rudenko 1952, p. 250). Rudenko energetically rejects the suggestion that the change-over to horse-nomadism was primarily the consequence of the general rule of violence in the steppe zone, which is said by some to have led to large scale transformation of settled tribes, adopting the nomad way of life. He indignantly condemns the idea that "one of the greatest events in the history of the Soviet Union", the change-over to nomadism from a settled way of life which took place among the shepherd tribes, was the outcome of their "greed for loot" (Rudenko 1960, p. 197).

Here Rudenko comes out against the ideas formulated by M.P. Grjaznov in a number of his writings, that the change-over to nomadism in the steppe zone was sudden, and that it was accompanied by a period of fierce struggles. In Grjaznov's view the new economic techniques were the culmination, at the same time, of a revolutionary change in the military methods of the steppe tribes (M. P. Grjaznov 1950, p. 3). At some time in the seventh century, then, a tribe which had become skilful at changing rapidly from pasture to pasture bade farewell to its settled home and adopted a nomad way of life, moving the cattle from one place to another. This was highly successful, since frequent changes of pasture opened up almost endless supplies of food and the flocks and herds could thus multiply at a great rate; the horse nomads, too, were constantly superior to the men of settled tribe s when it came to fighting. With their free way of living the nomads could attack settlements suddenly, and as suddenly disappear into hiding before the victim could gather his forces for counter-attack; they were able to carry off their loot, and live in this way without interrupting their normal care for their herds. Thus the nomads became the scourge of the settled farmers. To protect themselves against these nomad raids, and to reap the advantages of raids for themselves, the farmers were thus obliged to take up nomadism themselves and move about with their herds, as far as their natural conditions permitted. Not only the economic advantages of the new animal husbandry, but also the need for effective military defence against neighbouring nomads, are thus said to have brought about such a sudden change — probably in no more than a few decades — that the inhabitants of two continents deserted their settlements wherever possible and took to the nomadic form of life. This was how one of the greatest events in the history of the peoples of the Soviet Union took place, the steppe shepherd peoples taking up nomadism (M. P. Grjaznov 1950, p. 4). Grjaznov provided evidence in support of this hypothesis (1956) from a study of archaeological finds in Bolšaja Rečka near Bližne Elbany, illustrating the changing relations between the settled farmers and the nomads in the steppe.

We must now consider these two opposing theories and discuss their relative probability in the light of the known facts. In the first place it is essential to realize that as far as economic development is concerned the theories do not differ fundamentally; they conflict only in their assessment of the last phase, the final step to complete nomadism and the spreading of this way of life. Here we can raise objections to both theories. In the first place it is probable that the changeover to the last phase, that of complete nomadism, was neither as rapid or as complete as Grjaznov supposes. It was at this point that the risks must have been the greatest, and a great amount of experimenting must have been required, inevitably much of it unsuccessful, before the best methods were found and the nomads learned how to drive their vast herds and maintain them even in the bitter winters, without supplies of fodder. We have already seen that the dividing line between the farmers and the herdsmen was never as clear and absolute as Grjaznov makes out; elements of farming persisted even among the nomads, and Grjaznov himself has shown that in spite of all the attacks on them by nomad tribes the farmers of Bolšaja Rečka remained farmers, and settled farming persisted in the area for centuries. On the other hand Grjaznov is right when he says that the emergence of the nomadic way of life brought about a change — and perhaps a very sudden one — from peaceful co-existence to a period of fierce fighting.

Grjaznov's excavations in the region of Bolšaja Rečka on the Upper Ob document what went on among the neighbouring farming population in this first phase of the formation of nomadic societies based on horse-rearing. He found traces of fighting, villages which had been deserted in a hurry, either because the inhabitants fled or because they were dragged off into slavery. He also found evidence of burial with weapons, in striking contrast to the burials of the preceding Karasuk period, and testifying to the general state of insecurity. About one third of the men had been buried with their weapons, and one skeleton still had the bronze tip of an arrow in his knee (M. P. Grjaznov 1956, pp. 84ff.).

Similar features also appear in the Minusinsk depression in the initial period of the Tagar epoch. Though the population continued to live as settled farmers, there are numerous graves in which men and even women are buried with weapons (Kiselev 1951, p. 227). We also find ramparts, ditches — even an irrigation canal protected by defensive earthworks -- and traces of hostilities (Kiselev 1951, pp. 251–252). Thus these regions of Asia present the same picture as eastern and central Europe when the Scythian warrior-nomads settled in the Black Sea region. We find traces of their raiding in both central (Brandenburg) and south-eastern Europe (Hungary, Transylvania, central Bulgaria), and it was under pressure from the Scythians that the characteristic militant Ananino culture formed in north-east Russia. From the seventh and sixth century onwards the settled farmers not only in the steppes, but in the wooded belt as well, began to build fortifications round their settlements, or else moved to hills with steep slopes on two or three sides and built a moat and earthworks to protect the approaches. Strongholds of this type grew up on the Dnepr, the Volga, the Oka and the Kama. During this time earthworks hundreds of kilometres long were built in the Ukraine, and later in China (fourth and third centuries). Grjaznov (1950, p. 5) concludes that "the early nomad period . . . was a time of constant warfare, daring attacks and far-flung expeditions to win pasture-grounds and herds and to seize rich booty. It was a heroic period in the history of the nations of the USSR in the steppe regions". M. Ebert (1929, p. 56) also thought that the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. were a time of fierce warfare in southern Russia, and even allows that the fighting may have begun in the tenth or ninth centuries. A period of initial struggles is also accepted by Černikov (1960), who writes (p. 19): "Throughout the whole history of the nomads the most striking feature are constant armed clashes among themselves and with the farming regions bordering upon the steppes." S. J. Rudenko (1960, p. 197) is the only one to reject the idea that the early nomads were belligerent robbers, otherwise generally accepted by scholars.

To what extent these changes in economic and social organization revolutionized the whole of steppe life can best be seen in the burial of warriors together with their horses; this first appears in the Maiemiric culture, so called from the finds in the Maiemiric steppe beside the sources of the Narym and below Solonečnij Belek (Kiselev 1951, p. 288 and esp. p. 291). The horse becomes man's inseparable companion, who cannot part with him even after death. It is clearly not the relationship of a husbandman to an important means of subsistence but a much more intimate tie, above all that of a warrior to his faithful comrade, on whom his master's life often depended. It symbolizes well the new epoch in which the horse became an important factor in all areas of life. The custom of burying the warrior's horse with him is the clearest evidence that the formation of horse nomad societies was the outcome of long periods of struggle, for it always requires a long time before new elements are incorporated into the conservative ritual of burial, and this is always a reflection of some fundamental need in the life of the society concerned.

Tourning to the localization of this change-over to a mature form of nomadic life, Grjaznov, as we have seen, speaks vaguely of one or more places, while S. J. Rudenko (1952, p. 30) talks of the "broad spaces of the European and primarily the Asian steppes, among which by no means least important were the western foothills of the Altai, Targabatai and Tjanšan". K. Jettmar first turned his eyes towards Altai and T'ien-shan (1951, p. 154), when he first began to be interested in the emergence of the Scythian culture: "These two groups, Altai and the T'ien-shan territory, which grew up upon the basis of western Karasuk culture, possess, alone among all the archaeological complexes of the Asiatic steppes, the qualities which we demand for the ancestors of the Nomad Scythians and Sauromatae, i.e. Europoid racial type, great age, and the lack of all evidence that they first came into the country with an immigration belonging to Scythian times . . . It is therefore possible that the nomadic kernel of the Scythians and Sauromatae (perhaps even of the Ananino Culture) developed in the territories of the western Karasuk province. The name 'Scythian' clings to these territories throughout the whole of antiquity". This I believe to be the only theory so far advanced which attempts a closer definition of the area in which the early nomad societies were formed though fully aware of the relative and ephemeral character of all such theories.

Analyzing these theories of the emergence of nomadism, it appears that the ultimate motive leading to this "crystallization" of the nomad form of life in which a long development culminated still remains to be clarified. It is particularly difficult to discern the impulse which released the violent struggle of each against all in the steppes, and set in motion the process reflected in the well-known legend of Aristeas, taken over by Herodotus (IV, 13), that the attack on the Issedons by the Arimaspians set up a chain-reaction which resulted in the Cimmerians being driven out by the Scythians. K. Jettmar was particularly alive to this aspect, returning again and again to the problem. In his book (1964, p. 218) he formulates the question rather vaguely, asking whether the transition undergone by the peoples of the steppe did not take place within a zone of unrest somewhere to the south of the steppe belt. Jettmar returns to this idea in later works (1966 B, C), where he lays particular stress on the penetration of Andronovo tribes to the south and the role of southern mercenaries in the steppe belt. Dealing with Professor Jettmar's theories in my review of his book (J. Průšek 1967, particularly pp. 343—346), I emphasized that the emergence of nomadism must be considered a primary factor while mercenary fighting in the service of the southern monarchies was a secondary one, and suggested that the precipitant which started all the forces in the steppes moving and hastened the crystallization of the whole process may have been the drought which some scholars believe prevailed in northern China in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. I remain faithful to this hypothesis, which would provide an explanation of the dynamics of the processes we have described, but I am of course aware that it is dubious, as are all attempts to explain historical processes by changes in Nature. I therefore put forward, above, the suggestion that the emergence of nomadism might be regarded as a conflict situation resulting from the clash between two trends of development leading to deeper and deeper specialization and therefore to exclusiveness. I showed that the development of the Karasuk culture could be explained as a more dynamic and specialized economic form — that of sheep-rearing — penetrating into the region of the less specialized Andronovo culture, where a combination of scratch farming and animal husbandry prevailed. We can assume that the arrival of specialized forms could lead to increased specialization in the Andronovo region as well, and to a split between the two aspects of the existing way of life. Specialized herdsmen appear among the Andronovo peoples, specializing in horse-breeding, and these come into conflict with the specialized sheep breeders; this would be a logical development, for all the world over there is hostility between those who herd horses and those who pasture sheep, for the simple reason that the latter graze the pasture down to the roots, rendering it useless for horses. This hypothesis was strengthened by the material collected by G. F. Debec (1948) in the Minusinsk area, where he found that the appearance of the Karasuk culture was accompanied by the appearance of a dolichocephalic Mongoloid type among the Europoid inhabitants (p. 81). S. S. Černikov (1957, p. 31) also thought that the Andronovo tribes were assimilated and perhaps driven back in the Yenisej region by the Karasuk tribes from whom they acquired the knowledge of metal-working. On the other hand Debec found only two Mongoloid skulls among 262 belonging to the next era, the Tagar era; the remaining skulls were Europoid (Debec 1948, p. 126). Kiselev (1951, p. 301) remarked on the disappearance of Karasuk traits from Tagar and Maiemiric kurgans; Karasuk features persist only in rare isolated groups on the Yenisej, e.g. in Sydin kurgans. The Tagar era, which is the epoch of completely developed nomadism in the steppes, is marked by a new predominance of Europoid elements. An anthropological type close to the old Afanasievo-Andronovo type again appears on the Yenisej and on Altai (S. V. Kiselev 1951, p. 301). It is thus not improbable that the emergence of the warrior-nomad type was the result of a conflict between two specialized pastoral cultures, the people of which were also racially distinct. We should also remember that the Ch'iang, whose culture showed certain affinities to the Karasuk culture, used horses, as we have shown above.

If there were a certain degree of probability in our hypothesis, it would mean that we should look for the original home of the first nomads somewhere in the western regions of the Karasuk culture, in the region round Altai and T'ien-shan. It is in favour of this localization that the first distinguishable and clearly marked nomad culture in Siberia was the Maiemiric Culture we have already mentioned; the burial of warriors together with their horses was characteristic of this culture, in which there already existed a class of mounted warriors. This culture was found on the slopes of Altai. Further evidence in support of our theory is to be found in the fact that in the Minusinsk region the Karasuk culture was followed by the Tagar culture, again that of a Europoid and perhaps Afanasievo type. Even the legend that the Arimaspians touched off the conflict in the steppes would support our theory, for they too must be sought somewhere round Altai.

It would of course be wrong to assume that this clash between specialized cultures occurred only in the regions inhabited by nomads; it was probably engendered on the borders of the old farming cultures and the old hunting or pastoral cultures as well. We have seen that in China the people of a higher stage of farming culture, already markedly stratified, hunted the pastoral Ch'iang tribes like wild beasts; we suggested then that the attitude of the people of other early farming and Bronze cultures in northern China towards the more backward tribes in the neighbourhood was probably the same. This is substantially the view of O. Lattimore (1962, esp. p. 145). It was the transition to nomadism and the emergence of the horse-nomad armed with a bow that finally created a force to counter-balance that of the more powerful organized farming communities. I would even suggest that the usual tactics of shooting backwards over the shoulder while on horseback developed in the first place as a defence against the far better armed aristocratic fighters from the farming communities, with their war chariots. A lightly-armed horseman could not hope to defeat the well-armed crew of a war chariot, but he could defend himself against them. It was probably only later that the strategy of rapid attack gave the nomads the chance of superiority over the farming communities, as long as the latter had no wide political organization; that was something the nomads were always helpless against (Cf. E. H. Minns 1913, p. 83).

The first portraits of nomad warriors have come down to us in the work of artists of mature farming cultures, such as the relief carving of Scythian warriors pursued by Assyrian war chariots, of the time of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) (see K. Jettmar 1964, p. 220). This relief also shows that the technique of firing backwards on horseback was already familiar to the nomads in the ninth century. The culture of the earliest horse nomads on the Iranian Sialk plateau is probably of the same period; it is attributed, probably rightly, to the forbears of the Medes and Persians. The nomad slab grave culture of Mongolia is attributed to the seventh to sixth centuries B.C.; there is no evidence of agriculture in the region, and the people lived exclusively on the produce of their flocks, with some addition from hunting and fishing (G. P. Sosnovskij 1940, 1941, and N. N. Dikov 1953). By the eighth century at the latest the Cimmerians began moving in the west, followed by the Scythians. These facts would confirm Rudenko's theory, mentioned above, that the transition to nomadic life was completed before the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. This period marks the most significant point in the history of the steppe zone. Černikov (1960) also accepted the eighth century as the approximate beginning of the early nomad period (p. 17), while L. P. Potapov (1957, p. 261) put the emergence of nomadism as far back as the beginning of the first millenium B.C.

The Scythian epoch

XIII

Soviet scholars now avoid the terms "Scythian epoch" or "Scythian culture", because such designations belittle the importance of this culture and disguise the fundamental differences between different regions thereof (see S. S. Černikov, 1960, p. 17). Instead they prefer to use the term "early nomads". This term does in fact suit the period concerned, stretching from the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., when the first groups of horse-nomads grew up, to the second half of the fourth century B.C., when the Huns were rising to power in the east and in the west the Sarmatian tribes were making themselves felt. Nevertheless I believe we should retain the term "Scythian epoch" to designate the character of the economy and culture of the period, since the most typical example of this cultural complex was the Scythian culture itself. The culture of other peoples during this period are best regarded as variants of the Scythian model as we are familiar with it from the description of the Scythian culture of Southern Russia and the archaeological finds there. There is no doubt that the decisive influence over the whole period was that of the early nomads, who appeared in various regions of the steppe belt and either became masters of those regions or at least forced their neighbours to adapt their lives to fit in with these militant social groups in their neighbourhood.

The first representative of these nomad cultures which we can distinguish in the region of Central Asia was the Maiemiric culture we have already mentioned. Specific features of this culture were the kurgans in which his horse had been buried beside the warrior to accompany him on his journey to the next world, bits of a certain shape which recall Scythian bits used in the west up to the sixth or fifth centuries B.C., characteristic mirrors, and the absence of iron inplements. It was a purely nomadic culture, and pottery, for example, had almost completely disappeared. The Maiemiric culture was closely related to the Tagar Culture (S. V. Kiselev 1951, p. 301), and S. I. Rudenko therefore (1960, p. 163) denies it an independent existence; I cannot agree with him, for there is one important difference between the Maiemiric and the Tagar cultures: there were no horse burials in the Tagar kurgans of the Minusinsk region (S. V. Kiselev 1951, p. 301).

There can of course be no doubt that over and above all local differences a unified Scythian culture spread throughout the steppe region from the Black Sea to Ordos and Mongolia. Throughout the area a complex social structure evolved on the basis of a common economy in which pastoral nomadism, and particularly the rearing of large herds of horses, played the major part; the class of warriors on horse-back, especially trained as light archers, held the decisive position in this society, which developed a specific culture marked by a number of common features and characterised in art by the animal style.[25]

It would be superfluous to go into a detailed description of the Scythian culture here, for it has been dealt with in many works devoted to the Scythians and their economy and culture. We shall restrict our comments to certain features which are directly concerned with our subject. In the first place there was the symbiosis of farming and pastoral nomadism, which can explain certain features of life in the belt along the Great Wall during this period. An illustration of this symbiosis can be seen in a rock drawing in the Gojara ridge in Abakanskoe Perevoznoe region; depicting a village of the Tagar period, it shows four huts and one yurta. Three of the huts seem to be built of timber, rounded off and laid one on top of the other, while the fourth appears to be made of clay. Between the huts stand Scythian couldrons with a fire burning under each. On another drawing there are shaded rectangles which probably represent fields. Thus we see combined farming and animal grazing illustrated in the same picture (S. V. Kiselev 1951, pp. 252–253). It is clear from the drawing that the nomads lived side by side with the settled farmers, and that the symbiosis we have referred to existed among them. There are also other finds documenting the importance of farming for Tagar life. Irrigation channels 15 to 20 kilometres long have been found, protected by earthworks (Kiselev p. 255 et seq.); the water from these channels was distributed over the fields by ditches. Among the implements found were heavy sickles, and a rock painting of a man with a spade is evidence of the scratch farming methods (p. 255). On the other hand, animal husbandry was developing, especially the breeding of large animals, horses and cattle; sheep had become of secondary importance in the economy. The horse was now the most important (p. 257). Nevertheless, although the Tagar economy is characterized by this combination of farming and herding, the archaeological finds belong decidedly to the sphere of Scythian culture, of which they form a significant part. We shall be returning to this question, but we can say here that Scythian culture with its defined social features and its specific art forms was not exclusively confined to nomad society, but derived from the nomads as the dominant element in the society, the element which set the tone for the whole culture.

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[25] The situation has been aptly described by Kiselev (1951, pp. 302–303): "The early Tagar period is that era in Siberian history when cultural bonds again broadened . . . The ground was being prepared for a new stage in the cultural history of the ancient inhabitants of the USSR. This was marked by an even greater universality. The Scythians in the west, the Sarmatians in the Volga basin and the southern Urals, the Massaget-Sacae world of Central Asia, the Ting-ling tribes, the Maiemir and Tagar tribes of the Sayan-Altai region, the peoples living round Lake Baikal, in Mongolia and Ordos, all used the same weapons, the same harness for their horses, similar ornaments, and all favoured the same art techniques and methods. There were only local variations, which cannot diminish the exceptional affinities of their cultures. In those days the great steppe belt already united Eastern Europe and Northern Asia in a single culture and the same approach in art". F. Hančar (1950, p. 77) expresses his agreement with this passage, and the idea that the whole steppe belt was united in a single culture at this period is accepted, basically, by all scholars.

This brief mention of certain economic and cultural aspects of Tagar culture perhaps suffices; we can now turn to the situation in the area along the Great Wall in the Scythian epoch. First, however, we must take a brief look at the general situation in Mongolia and the Baikal region.

In Mongolia S. V. Kiselev (1947 B) found the same succession of cultures as in the Minusinsk region. After the Neolithic culture of microliths and pottery with line ornament made either by grass or with a special scraper, and akin to the Afanasievo pottery of Siberia, we find articles of the Karasuk period. These are haphazard finds of massive bronze knives, often with linear ornament on the handle, and with the characteristic bent blade. The handle is often decorated with a stylized creeping animal motif. Kiselev thought these knives had closer affinities to the North Chinese knives of the Shang and Chou periods, and quoted an axe similar ro the Chinese *ko,* found in the southern Gobi, as well as a pendant shaped like three paws which forms a parallel to the paw pendants of the Karasuk culture (pp. 358–359). He repeated his theory that considerable groups from North China had penetrated northwards to southern Siberia (p. 360). In Northern China Kiselev found Karasuk elements in arrows from stone-cist graves in Jehol, akin to Shang arrows, and in daggers which however are more massive, making them more akin to Shang daggers. He came to the conclusion that the finds of Karasuk objects on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic provide a link between the Late Bronze Age culture in Northern China and the culture of southern Siberia, pointing to the route followed by the barbarians driven out of China towards the north. He believed these migrations to have begun as early as the twelfth century, and locates an eastern group of Ting-ling tribes, as he calls the people of the Karasuk culture, between Lake Baikal and the Ob. Although we can by no means accept Kiselev's very definite conclusions based on very insufficient material, it is possible to regard finds of Karasuk type material, showing close affinities with Chinese culture, as marking the paths by which Chinese influence reached northwards.

Kiselev considers the following epoch in the ancient history of Mongolia was characterized by the spread of weapons, implements, ornaments and art very reminiscent of Black Sea Scythian art, and particularly of Tagar-Minusinsk forms of the period between the seventh and second centuries B.C. (Kiselev 1947B, p. 361). An analysis of stone-cist graves in Mongolia shows the affinity between them and early Tagar graves in the Minusinsk region, while the pottery is akin to that of the stone-cist graves in the vicinity of the Great Wall. They are sharply differentiated from the Maiemir graves in the Altai region, which are always indicated by a barrow and contain one or two horses. Typical Scythian cauldrons are found in Mongolia too, like those found throughout the Scythian sphere from the Dnepr to the Great Wall. Towards the end of the third century B.C. the Hun expansion opened a new stage in Mongolian history, and Kiselev concludes (p. 368) with the statement that "Once more we see a characteristic rhythm in the cultural development of the steppe tribes from Ordos to the Dnepr, tribes of varied ethnic character but akin in their culture, so that this epoch can be called the Hun-Sarmatian era."

A similar rhythm in pre-history was found by scholars dealing with archaeological material from the region of the River Selenga and Lake Baikal. In particular G. P. Sosnovskij, who studied the stone-cist graves of the region, concluded that they were relics "of the first nomads in the steppes along Selenga" (G. P. Sosnovskij 1941, p. 309) (See also the same author, 1940). N. B. Dikov had access to Sosnovskij's material, and presented it together with his own in 1953. It consists mainly of finds from the Selenga region in the Aginsk steppe and from the Baikal district. Dikov finds the same succession of cultures there as we saw in the Minusinsk region and as Kiselev found in Mongolia. The most ancient group, which he dates to the tenth to eighth centuries B.C., reveals Karasuk features, but with distinctive original elements some of which are closer to the culture of Northern China and Mongolia. In the early nomad period (our Scythian epoch) these tribes seem to have maintained broad cultural contacts with the West, with Iran and Central Asia, as well as with China and perhaps even with India. The people of this region were the intermediaries between China and other steppe peoples on the one hand, and the people of the taiga on the other. Their economy was based on animal husbandry without the gathering of fodder for the winter. In the people of this culture the author sees the distant ancestors of the Turks. He considers the existence of stag stones and the custom of burying the dead with the head towards the east as evidence of this connection with the Turks. Anthropological research by S. I. Gochman (1958, p. 443) supports these conclusions; he believes the slab grave people of the Transbaikal region to be a northern branch of the Mongolian race, free from Europoid admixture. They are bracchocephalic, which distinguishes them from the later Hun arrivals who were dolichocephalic and showed many anthropological features in common with the Paleosiberian type; analysis of the language of the Huns, as we have already seen, provides confirmation of this. The Huns did not use the stone-cist form of burial, but built timber-frame graves from the trunks of deciduous trees (Dikov 1953).

This account of the developments in different regions of the steppe zone in Central and Eastern Siberia allows us to turn to Ordos and ask whether the stages we have found in the cultural history of Minusinsk and the neighbouring steppe regions can also be discerned in the Ordos region and other areas along the Great Wall. We know that throughout its history the region maintained close bonds with the steppes; it was part of them and the history of the Great Wall regions was usually the same as the history of the steppes. Was this true of the early nomad period too? We should remember what S. V. Kiselev pointed out (1951, p. 318): "Nature created particularly favourable conditions for animal husbandry for the people of Mongolia and the regions along the Great Wall, who left behind them these Scytho-Tagaric relics. In the steppes of Ordos, a region washed on three sides by the Yellow River, and in the northern regions of what is now Mongolia, in the Orchon and Tul basins, herds of cattle and horses grazed, well provided for by good pasturage and plentiful springs of water. There were suitable grazing grounds for nomad herdsmen in the foothills of the Sajan and Altai ranges to the north, of the Great Xingan to the east, and of the Xangay range in Central Mongolia. The forests of these regions abounded in game".

These exceptionally favourable conditions in themselves make it unlikely that various forms of animal husbandry and herd-grazing would not have developed in the regions round the Great Wall and adjacent territories, particulary when we stress once more that mobile grazing based on periodical changes of pasture was a more productive means of subsistence than scratch farming in the semi-arid zone. Purely theoretically, then, we can expect to find the same cultures, appearing in the same order, as we found in the Minusinsk basin and the regions round Altai, Transbaikal and Mongolia. The order in which the cultures succeed one another is given by the gradual improvement of technology, and we might even expect the particularly favourable natural conditions in this region to support even more varied forms of animal husbandry. It should be borne in mind, however, that this belt along the Great Wall extends even into Manchuria, and is not only vast but includes varied geographical conditions; we must therefore expect equally varied cultural phenomena.

Unfortunately our knowledge of the archaeology of the area is exceptionally poor. On the one hand there is a vast quantity of artefacts collected by chance, and even by robbery, while on the other hand there have been only very few properly conducted excavations, these are all of recent date, but in the last few years this source of information appears to have dried up completely. This has determined to a considerable degree the character of research in the field; we have a number of general studies inspired by the specific character and high artistic level of the bronze relics of this area, usually called Ordos bronzes, but on the other hand we have very few detailed comparative studies and absolutely no attempt to distinguish cultural complexes and determine the nature of each stage of development.

Studies of the former type describe the Ordos culture in general terms and show its connections with other regions; or else they describe collections of material from a given region and try to compare it and place it in the context of similar articles from other cultures; or taking the opposite method they seek parallels between Ordos bronzes and articles from other cultures.

The excellent craftsmanship and wealth of varied forms to be seen in Ordos bronzes gained them the interest of collectors and art dealers for some decades, but the first scholar to devote serious study to the subject was the founder of Chinese archaeology in the West, Professor G. Andersson. As early as 1929 he declared that in the border region between Northern China and Inner Mongolia there existed a special region of Scythian-Siberian culture marked primarily by small bronzes with animal style elements. Andersson pointed out that this was a province of Scythian art, like the Black Sea region in the West, the Altai and Minusinsk region in Siberia, and the region round Kama to the west of the Urals (the Ananino region). Andersson thus placed the North Chinese region in the scheme of "Scythian cultures", believed the bearers to be the nomads (p. 150) and for the moment, at least, identified them with the Hsiung-nu (p. 448). His comment that the small bronzes concerned clearly recall the finds in the Minusinsk area was significant. Andersson proposed the term Sui-yüan for the bronzes of this region. He also put forward the theory that the animal style spread into the Mongolian desert through the Dsungarie of today; it then divided into two branches, one of which went north-west and reached Altai, Urianhai and the Minusinsk region, while the other moved south-east to Ordos and Sui-yüan (p. 151). In 1932 Andersson returned to this question and summed up his conclusions: "with the evidence we have gathered it has become possible to outline the existence of a well-defined Sino-Mongolian province of the Animal Style, extending from Jehol in the East to Chen-fan in the West and comprising not only the grasslands of Inner Mongolia but also northernmost Hopei and Shansi, where the water flows to the sea and where the Chinese have settled and tilled the soil for nearly two thousand years at least" (J. G. Andersson 1932, p. 223). In his major work on Chinese prehistory (1943, pp. 275ff.) Andersson pointed to the most significant material for our knowledge of the culture of the people living round the Great Wall, the excavation material from Ch'ih-feng (XI 7) in Jehol province, and particularly that from Hung-shan (XI 6). Andersson summarized the results of the excavations led by the Japanese scholar Hamada, who pointed out the affinities between the bronze and other articles he found here and the culture of Ordos and of the Minusinsk region. We shall be dealing with his material later in another context. Andersson also accepted (1943, p. 273) the opinion of B. Karlgren (1937, p. 110) that from the study of the affinities between the art of Huai on the Chinese side and that of Ordos on the other "the inevitable conclusion is that the Ordos art must have existed as a neighbouring art, i.e. along the Northern or North-Western frontier of China, in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., if not even still earlier . . .". Karlgren considered the art of Ordos the "Easternmost province of the Eurasian Animal Style".

I am of the opinion that the existence of a "Scythian culture" in the region of the Great Wall is beyond all doubt; it is confirmed by the most superficial comparison of Scythian relics from other regions and those from Ordos scattered in vast numbers over private and museum collections all over the world. The character of these Ordos bronzes forces us to reject outright the view of Chêng Tê-k'un "that the bronze culture of the Ordos is but an outlying link of the flourishing bronze industry of Eastern Chou starting probably as early as *Ch'un-ch'iu*". The date put forward here is purely arbitrary. Nor can we accept the interpretation Chêng Tê-k'un placed on the work of Karlgren: "Karlgren through stylistic studies illustrates most eloquently the uniformity of the metallic art throughout the entire Chou China during the *Chan-kuo* period. The region of the Great Wall was then culturally but a part of it, as we have mentioned in some earlier chapters" (Chêng Tê-k'un 1963, pp. 256—257). In my view Karlgren showed clearly — and the quotation from his work given here puts this remarkably well — that the art of Ordos had its clear and independent individuality as distinct from the

Chinese, and that while it absorbed impulses from China it also exerted a profound influence on Chinese art. The existence of an independent cultural centre apart from that of Shang art was also accepted by M. Loehr (1949 A, p. 23).

There can be no doubt that there existed in Ordos a culture which was parallel to the Scythian and therefore to the Tagar branch in the Minusinsk region, a culture which was clearly of the same character. A much more involved question is that of whether there existed an even older culture in the region of the Great Wall, a culture which could be regarded as parallel to the Karasuk culture in the Minusinsk region. M. Loehr (1949, p. 25) answered this question in the affirmative, saying that "models of the refined objects of Shang manufacture which reflect the art of Northerners must have existed in the steppe at the time of the city of Shang".

We have no direct evidence of the existence and character of this culture in the form of archaeological finds; it remains an abstraction reconstructed on the basis of what we know of the Karasuk and the Shang cultures. The existence of convincing parallels between the two cultures which grew up in the belts to the north and south of the steppe belt respectively, must entitle us to expect that artefacts corresponding to those found in these two belts existed in the steppe belt lying in between them, as well. This belt along the Great Wall must have formed a bridge across which articles from the one belt found their way to the other — unless, of course, this interlying belt was the centre from which they found their way into both the northern and the southern areas. An exact analysis of the relics of the Karasuk culture has made it possible to establish a group of articles which must also have existed in the Great Wall region. The value of this attempt at reconstruction of the cultural complex of the interlying belt is all the greater since the analysis of elements commmon to both the Minusinsk and the Shang cultures was carried out by the most competent authorities on the subject of each region, who reached practically the same conclusions although working quite independently. We have already drawn attention to the works concerned: the book published by the Soviet scholar S. V. Kiselev in 1951, and accompanied by many shorter papers already quoted, and now complemented by a new synthesis describing the Karasuk culture, from the pen of N. L. Členova, in the first volume of the great History of Siberia (1964, pp. 263—279). This completes the analysis of the Minusinsk material while for the Shang material the authority is the work by Karlgren quoted earlier (1945 B).

The Russian scholars agree with Karlgren on the groups of articles showing direct affinity, of which the most significant is the group of square axes, Karlgren's Class III. He himself quotes three examples from Minusinsk (191, 192, 193) which correspond to the Shang square axes (28—34). Kiselev, who emphasizes the connection between this type of axe and the Shang axes, illustrates this axe in Plate XI, No. 13. In the group of socketed celts, Karlgren's Class II, Kiselev (1960, p. 51) gives an illustration remarkably similar to the Shang celts, but attributes it to the Cimmerian culture. In the Chinese text this axe is called *fu* (1). Karlgren says, however (p. 124), that "there are many practically identical

Nomad counterparts", and refers to illustrations in the literature, e.g. J. Arne 1933, Plates II and IX.

The authorities differ in their opinion of the relation between the Minusinsk pick-axes and the Chinese shaft-hole axes. Karlgren (pp. 124–127) rejects the idea of a common source, although many scholars have accepted it. He concludes (p. 127) that "the Chinese axe of Class VI is not derived from the Siberian type (197–200), nor the latter from the former", and his arguments carry conviction. In the same connection, however, he says (p. 127) that two shaft-hole dagger axes one of which (204) was found in the Ordos desert and the other (205) in Sui-yüan, "must be derived from the Chinese weapon". If his hypothesis is correct these two weapons must form a link between the Chinese weapon and the Minusinsk pick-axe. The shaft-hole of the axe found in Sui-yüan is prolonged into a shaft tube similar to that in the Siberian pick-axes, and it has grooves similar to those on the tang of Siberian example (200). The only difference is the triangular blade instead of the straight or cylindrical blade found in the other pick-axes. Kiselev (p. 118) comments on a pick-axe found in Inner Mongolia, where the blade is not at right-angles to the shaft-tube but seems to be attached all down one side, sloping then in an arc to the point rather like the Chinese *ko*; he considers it a link between the Chinese and the nomad weapon. From our point of view the significant thing is not the possible link with the Shang type of weapon, but the fact that a proto-type of the Siberian pick-axe existed in the Great Wall region during the Karasuk period. The link with Siberia is also proved by loop-handles on pick-axes from Ordos and Minusinsk (Kiselev p. 118). It is worth noting that pick-axes are relatively rare in Karasuk finds. Two have been found in the Minusinsk basin in the valley of the river Usa to the south of Sajan, and two in an older Tomsk burial-ground, besides the one from Inner Mongolia already described.

Both Karlgren and the Soviet archaeologists comment on the close affinity between the Shang and the Karasuk knives. They include outward-curving knives, jingle-head knives, ring-headed knives and knives with animals' heads. The same motives were used on dagger handles; these were powerful weapons in Minusinsk, unlike those of the Andronovo period which seem still to have been used as knives as well (Členova 1964, p. 266). Karlgren (p. 129 and esp. p. 130) considers the moon-shaped frontlets found to be a specific element linking Karasuk and Shang; these are presumably what Kiselev (p.53) calls "an artefact shaped like a bow" (2). According to Kiselev early finds of this article were haphazard, but about a year previously one had been found on the abdomen of a corpse, together with a knife, in a Karasuk grave in the Yenisej valley. The position of the artefact in this case makes Karlgren's classification of similar finds as "a horse's forehead jingle" (p. 112) rather doubtful.

This list of articles found both in the Karasuk and in the Shang cultures is extended by Kiselev (1960, p. 51) to include the *mao* (3) spear, which has two rings on the shaft in the Shang culture, but only one in the Karasuk culture (Kiselev 1960, p. 53). He also adds semi-circular ornaments which he claims are also found in Ordos, and which a pupil of his found in a slightly changed form in Mongolia. We should also include among the artefacts of this culture *li* and *ting* tripods, found in considerable numbers in the Transbaikal region (Kiselev 1960, p. 53). Čl̆enova (1964, p. 272) also mentions cowrie shells and their imitations, popular in the Shang culture; cylindrical white beads made of pulp, found in Ordos, Manchuria, Mongolia and the Altai range; and paw-shaped pendants found in Tuva and Sinkiang and similar to those of the Karasuk culture.

Contemplating the collection of artefacts assumed to form part of the culture in the Great Wall region, we see that they represent a relatively advanced and mature Bronze culture; compared with those of the Shang culture the objects found in the steppe regions are no more primitive or less artistic. Although for the most part we are dealing with weapons or items of daily use (knives and axes), their elegant shape and excellent craftsmanship enchant us.

This complex of artefacts, based on deduction, cannot of course be tied up with any given form of economy or any precise group of people. Earlier we suggested that the people of the Karasuk culture were Mongoloid, with a habit of life perhaps akin to that of the Tibetans later, and that their chief occupation was animal husbandry (while retaining some elements of settled farming) and particularly sheep-rearing. We may assume that these economic traits were also present in the people of the Great Wall culture, but this is no more than conjecture based on general considerations. In the various regions along the Great Wall there may have been varied forms of economy; probably in some places farming was more developed, including pig-keeping (in the east), while elsewhere primitive gathering, hunting and fishing may have been the means of subsistence. For the majority of these people of the Great Wall culture or cultures we can probably safely assume stone-cist burial, and that the dog played an important role in their lives both economically and culturally. We shall deal with this in another context later. As far as the date of this period in the history of the Chinese border regions is concerned, we must assume that like the Karasuk culture it begins in the last two or three centuries of the second millenium B.C. and ends in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., in the stormy period in which the first horse-nomads evolved.

Scythian culture in the Great Wall region

XIV

Our knowledge of the following cultural epoch is much more vivid, thanks to the existence of finds from a fairly definite region and to material derived from properly conducted excavations. Under the former category there are two groups of finds, one from Luan-p'ing district (1) west of the town of Ch'eng-te (Jehol) and one from Hsüan-hua (2) in Chahar province. Both collections were bought from Chinese merchants by the Swedish archaeologist T. J. Arne, the first in 1920 and the second in 1924. Professor Arne himself had never been at the site excavated, and so we do not know either the circumstances of the find, or the exact position of the articles concerned. It is not clear whether there was one or more graves involved in the first collection, and the same applies to the other. According to Arne (1933, p. 175) five skull fragments and long bones were found in the Hsüan-hua grave. The first find consisted of 854 objects (p. 156), the second of 506. The material in both cases is sufficiently similar for Arne to be convinced that the two burial grounds belong to the same period (p. 165). He stresses that the finds belong to the Ordos culture and points out their affinities with Scythian-Siberian finds in the Jenisej region and in southern and eastern Russia and the Caucasus. He declares in fact that some can be considered imports from further west (p. 165). The photographic material which accompanies Arne's work fully confirms his view that these collections are of the Ordos culture as one province of the complex of Scythian cultures. Both the way in which the material was acquired, however, and its general character, inevitably provoke doubts as to whether it is truly representative of this culture. There are practically no larger weapons in the whole collection, for example, except two plain daggers each from a different locality; there are hardly any vessels such as pots, and very few decorative articles of higher artistic value. We must consider the possibility of the graves being those of poorer people, from a poorer region; or the greater probability that the more valuable objects had been removed and sold separately. J. G. Andersson (1932, pp. 225—6) assumed that this is what had happened in the case of F. A. Larson's collection. It is probable that Professor Arne's two collections do not represent the whole breadth of the Ordos culture, as it was available to the outstanding members of that society. The district of Hsüan-hua is not far north of the centre of the Tai (3) state, which we shall be dealing with later. This state was conquered by Chao in the year 457 B.C., and is sometimes attributed to the Ti. It may be that the finds we are now discussing illustrate the culture of these barbarian statelets which grew up on the periphery of China proper. The collections acquired by Professor Arne show how the animal style determined the character of the whole bronze production of this epoch, and in particular how these bronze articles, serving personal adornment either on the costume or on the horses' harness, were a sign of the wearer's prestige. Professor Arne suggests that as the true Scythian, pre-Sarmatian culture is usually dated between 600 and 200 B.C., or a little earlier, the finds from both the localities he describes may date from the period preceding the First Han dynasty.

We shall probably not be far from the truth if in view of the general character of the Ordos culture we consider it as chronologically corresponding to the Tagar culture, which we assigned to the eighth to third centuries B.C. We shall return later to Professor Arne's repeated opinion that the Ordos bronzes are a product of the Hsiung-nu. Only a detailed comparison of the individual groups of objects would enable us to determine the exact differences between artefacts of the Tagar epoch and similar objects of greater age, dating from the Karasuk culture.

We can best appreciate the force, originality and maturity of this "Scythian" culture of the region along the Great Wall from the powerful influence it exercised on Chinese art, resulting in what is known as Huai art. It was Professor Karlgren who pointed out in 1937 the lack of justification for bringing forward Ordos art to the Han period; he suggested that theoretically, at least, the Hsien-yün "may just as well have been the first bearers of the Ordos art as their followers and possible descendants, the Hsiung-nu of Han time" (p. 98). Karlgren later changed his opinion about the identity or at least kinship of the Hsien-yün and Hsiung-nu, but his theory that there existed an Ordos art which exercised a profound influence on China has been confirmed again and again with every new work on the subject. Karlgren was the first to carry out a detailed formal analysis of the art of the Ordos and Chinese regions and suggested a well-supported date for the former, in his theory mentioned above that "the inevitable conclusion is that the Ordos art must have existed as a neighbouring art, i.e. along the Northern or North-Western frontier of China, in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. if not even still earlier . . . " (Karlgren 1937, p. 110). In his two studies of 1932 and 1933 respectively Professor J. G. Andersson published a wonderful collection of relics of the Ordos style; in the former he also attempted to solve the problem of the origin of the animal style in Scythian art.

Light could be thrown on the cultural genesis in the Great Wall region by systematic excavations in the Jehol area; these were begun by Japanese teams and continued after the end of the last war by Chinese archaeologists.

The site of these excavations was Hung-shan (XI 6) in Ch'ih-feng district (XI 7) in Jehol province (approximately 119°—42°). Hamada published an English summary of the results of Japanese excavations in the Japanese book *Prehistoric Sites at Hung Shan Hou, Chih feng, in the province of Jehol*, Manchukuo (1938, Vol. VI, Series A of the Archaeologica Orientalis). In his opinion (loc. cit. p. 7, quoted apud Andersson 1943, p. 276): "the second prehistoric culture in Ch'ih-feng is that of the first Bronze Age, characterized by red polished pottery and Sui-yüan bronze". Hamada classified this culture as part of a larger complex extending throughout Jehol and in the Great Wall region: "We have found the same kind of pottery at Shih-p'ei-ling near Hsin-ching, Manchukuo, and it has been discovered at sites in both Turkestan and in Altai. The same kind of bronze is abundantly found in the Minusinsk region of Siberia". Hamada pointed out phenomena which deviate, but his main contention is the striking affinity between the bronzes found by his expeditions and those from other regions of Scythian art. This unity has been stressed by all authorities on the bronzes discovered north of the Great Wall. Hamada also put forward the suggestion that the people of this culture, who kept horses, oxen, sheep, pigs and dogs, "perhaps lived by cattlebreeding, but probably were not nomads and carried on some agriculture". (Andersson p. 276). Here again we have the presumed mutual exclusiveness of nomadism and agriculture which we have already shown to be incorrect. The theory that the bronzes they found were related to the Scythian bronzes seems to have influenced the date assigned by the Japanese scholars to this culture. According to Hamada (Andersson p. 277) "the chronology of this second culture is determined by its bronzes, much influenced by the north Eurasian Culture or Scytho-Siberian art. It is perhaps to be dated from about 500 B.C. to about 200 B.C.".

As we have already said, the work on these sites was continued by Chinese archaeologists, and in 1958 Lü Tsun-eh published the results. He attacked Hamada mainly on the grounds that his chronology was incorrect, although Lü Tsun-eh quotes Hamada wrongly, as though the Japanese scholar had dated his finds in the Ch'in and Han periods. Since Hamada's dating is based entirely on the bronzes, and since these (knives, axes and horse trappings) were not taken from graves but were found lying about, they cannot be given weight as evidence. This is true enough, but even so the very existence of these bronzes is a proof that a bronze culture with characteristic Scythian artefacts did exist in this region, and for reasons we shall show below it cannot be dated later than the third century B.C. The Japanese archaeologists found a knife inside a stone-cist grave, which Lü Tsun-eh finds akin to knives from An-yang; he found similar affinities in the arrowheads too. This all deserves very careful consideration, for it is not impossible that these are relics of the culture we have postulated along the Great Wall, which could be considered a parallel to the Karasuk culture in the Minusinsk region.

Lü Tsun-eh classified the finds made by the Chinese expeditions in four main groups: 1. Neolithic; 2. relics from before the Warring States period; 3. from the Warring States period; 4. from the Han period.

Lü Tsun-eh rejects the theory (wrongly attributed to Hamada) that the people of this culture were nomads. The large finds of pottery, stone knives, spinning wheels and pig bones prove to his satisfaction that they were farmers and not shepherds. There is no doubt that the pig bones mark this region off sharply from other Scythian cultures, and suggest that the elements of Scythian culture had penetrated into a region with an older and clearly defined economic system. History tells us that the inhabitants of Manchuria always kept pigs. These conclusions were accepted by Chêng Tê-k'un (1963), who connected the culture un-covered at Ch'ih-feng with those to the south of the Great Wall. After describing the culture excavated at Ch'ih-feng he added (p. 138): "In Kirin, the material culture remained very primitive but in Jehol and the region along the Great Wall, more bronze implements and articles were used and the pottery was under the influence of the Red, Black and Grey cultures of the Huang-ho basin. Jade and other fine stone objects were better carved and the casting of bronze more advanced. In every respect the culture was basically connected with those which flourished to the south of the Great Wall. The polished stone industry and jade carving, the pottery *li*, *hu* and *kuan*, the bronze *ko*, *fu*, *mao*, *chien* and several types of arrow-heads all had their proto-types in the Huang-ho basin. The only exception seems to be the animal plaques which they used in their ornamentations, and this, known summarily as the Ordos bronzes,has generally been regarded as having owed its origin to the Scytho-Siberian art. The influence from this quarter reached as we have seen in Shen-hsi, the very heart of the Chou civilization. However, archaeological data have shown that the Ordos bronzes were ornaments used by sedentary peoples, not by hunting nomads as they were generally regarded in the past. The culture as a whole was a mixture, its basic elements showing hardly any appreciable difference from that of the common people south of the Great Wall".

Every analysis of the Ordos bronzes has shown that this cultural and artistic complex cannot be restricted merely to "animal plaques", but that it covers a whole gamut of weapons, tools, harness and horse ornaments, jewelry and dress ornaments, etc. Chêng Tê-k'un loses no opportunity of trying to deny the cultural independence of the Great Wall region and of annexing it for the culture of dynastic China. It has not been proved that these "ornaments were used by sedentary peoples", but simply that they were found lying next to agricultural implements in some cases; this proves no more than the symbiosis of farmers and nomads we have referred to earlier. Nor is it impossible that in the region along the Great Wall there were peasant settlements side by side with nomad encampments, as described above in connection with the Bolšaja Rečka region.

The Ch'ih-feng excavations prove that the culture here was related to that of the stone-cist graves. In 1935 Hamada excavated about twenty-six stone cist graves in Hung-shan-hou, of the three hundred or so discovered there. Most of the graves were narrow rectangular graves of stone slabs 120—180 cm. long, 30—40 cm. wide and 40 cm. deep. They were either covered by stone slabs of greater width, or stones were heaped over them. As we found above, this type of grave occurred both in the Karasuk and in the Tagar culture, and it seems to have been general throughout the north-east, in the Transbaikal region, Mongolia and Manchuria (Cheng Tê-k'un 1963, p. 139). I do not think that Chang Kwang-chih (1963, p. 224) was right to attribute them only to a particular culture of the Pohai Bay region and southern Manchuria. There can be no doubt, however, that this way of burial proves the close relationship between the cultures of southern Siberia and Mongolia and those of the Great Wall region.

Of particular interest for our problem, however, is the fact that slate graves very similar to the stone-cist graves have been found in Wei-chou (4) not far from Li-fan (5) on the western borders of Szu-ch'uan. As in the Great Wall region the slate graves of this culture are accompanied by a set of bronze artefacts such as shields and armour fittings, arrow-heads, swords and daggers, bells, buttons, tubes, rings, *lien-chu* fittings, bronze kettles, bird designs etc. Chêng Tê-k'un (1963, p. 180) describes these objects thus: "These together with the predominance of bronze-edged tools such as axes and knives, are also noticed in the Scythian culture of South Russia, the Ananino culture of Eastern Russia, the Karasuk culture of south Siberia and Mongolia, and the stone-cists along the Great Wall, as well as other parts of Chou China. This widespread metal culture on the Euro-asian Continent has been called the "Scytho-Siberian" culture . . . With the discovery of the slate tombs, the area of the so-called southern Scytho-Siberian culture may be extended from Manchuria across the whole region of the Great Wall into north-western Szu-ch'uan." It is sufficient to note in passing that Chêng Tê-k'un here accepts what he rejected elsewhere — the existence of a Scythian culture in the Great Wall region. It is more significant that here on the borders of Szu-ch'uan, close to the ancient home of the Ch'iang, we find a culture with close affinities to the Karasuk culture and those which grew out of it or in its vicinity — i.e. the slate tombs and the specific bronze culture. This provides a certain amount of support for our theory that the people of the Karasuk culture may have been related in their culture to the Ch'iang hunted by the Chinese kings and characterized primarily by their sheep-rearing, which suggests their connection with the Tibetans of a later age. The relationship is of course a very distant one, for as is well known the Tibetans have cremated their dead from the outset.

The theory presents itself that the microlithic substratum was overlaid in the steppe belt and the adjacent regions by a wave of immigrant peoples for whom the sheep was economically important, who buried their dead in stone-cist graves and had a relatively mature bronze industry illustrated best by the Karasuk complex.

Let us return, however, to the finds at Ch'ih-feng, where for the first time a culture characterized by stone-cist graves and Scythian bronzes is found. The Japanese scholar Hamada dated the second Ch'ih-feng stratum in the Scythian period, i.e. 500—200 B.C., on the basis of the bronzes found in the same region. The question of course arises as to whether these finds do not reflect an earlier period, and whether there are not more reliable criteria than chance finds of bronzes. Lü Tsun-eh showed that the stone-cist graves of Hung-shan are akin to those of the same type found in T'ang-shan (6), north-east of T'ien-chin. Since we find in both these areas, Hung-shan and T'ang-shan, ancient burials in *weng-kuan* clay vessels (7), Lü Tsun-eh concluded that the stone-cist graves in this region must be earlier than the *Chan-kuo* period. The discovery of *li* tripods in the Hung-shan and the T'ang-shan graves brings us to the same conclusion. *Li* tripods are no longer found in the *Chan-kuo* period, which means that these graves must be even older (cf. An Chih-min 1954). For the same reason Chêng

Tê-K'un (1963, p. 140) dates the stone-cist grave culture in the period of the Western Chou and as far back as *Ch'un-ch'iu*, while on the other hand the graves with Ordos bronzes date from "Chan-kuo or even later", and "most of the beautiful animal plaques and fittings were as late as Western Han", a conclusion which has nothing to support it.

We must devote at least a brief glance to the excavations in T'ang-shan, which will help to complete the picture of the stone-cist culture in this eastern region. In 1952 nine stone-cist graves were studied; they seem to have formed part of a great burial ground. The graves were made of rectangular lime-stone slabs and covered with stone plates. In some cases there were stone slabs on the bottom of the graves as well. One of the graves measured 1.36 m. and was 0.21 m. wide at the top and 0.17 m. wide at the bottom; the graves lay east to west. At the foot of the grave there was a chamber, *shih* for vessels (8) or a sacrificial vessel. An Chih-min (1954) in his report on these finds said that this type of grave is found in Jehol at Ch'ih-feng (Hung-shan-hou), in Kirin at Hsiao ying-tzu (9) near Yen-chi (10) (south of 43° north latitude), on Hsi t'uan-shan (11) in the town of Kirin and elsewhere.

On the whole there are few artefacts in these graves; the pottery is crude Red ware, sometimes Black. They recall the stone-cist graves of Hung-shan-hou. Comparing the funeral furniture of these graves with that of the Hung-shan-hou graves An Chih-min came to the conclusion that the graves in Yen-chi and the town of Kirin date from the *Chan-kuo* period (there are no *li* tripods), while the T'ang-shan graves must be older than the second Ch'ih-feng stratum; he therefore dates them before 771 B.C. He bases this dating on the fact that the T'ang-shan *li* are slender and have hollow feet, and are thus more primitive than those from Hung-shan-hou, with low, solid feet (An Chih-min p. 82). Moulds for casting spears, axes and knives have also been found in the town of T'ang-shan, and An Chih-min stresses the differences between these artefacts and the Ordos bronzes, where spears are very rare. He dates them no later than *Ch'un-ch'iu* (An Chih-min p. 85). The spears have from one to three rings on the sides of the shaft (two on one side).

Extensive excavations along the Great Wall by Chinese scholars since the end of the war have confirmed the connection between the Ordos bronzes and the stone-cist graves. For the time being, although numerous Bronze Age deposits have been unearthed, richer graves containing Ordos bronzes and proving affinities with the northern regions are fairly rare. It is highly probable that the richer graves have been looted and that it is from them that the wonderful examples of Ordos art have come to grace private collections and museums all over the world. According to a report in 1961 (Nei Meng-ku 1961 A) about 300 Bronze Age deposits have been found in Joouda (35) territory (this region of Jehol lies north of 43°N) and in Jerim (12) (a region of Central Manchuria east of Chahar province). Finds were particularly numerous in the Ch'ih-feng region in Harachin (13), roughly south of Ch'ih-feng, near Ongniud (14) north of Ch'ih-feng, near Auhan (15) east of Ch'ih-feng and on Ning-ch'eng territory (16) to the south of Ch'ih-feng. The finds are in deposits on the slopes of the hills forming the river banks and on terraced ground, and are large deposits forming rounded clay mounds. Stone agricultural implements predominate among the contents, like hoes, stoves, spades, axes, sickles etc. The main occupation of the people seems to have been agriculture, enriched by fishing. *Li* are found in the upper stratum, which points to the considerable antiquity of the culture. On the other hand it is clear that this was a Bronze Age culture, for arrow-heads, a bronze bracelet and near-by a bronze tripod with a dragon ornament have been found in Ning-ch'eng district. In the spring of 1958 a stone-cist grave 2 metres long and 1.50 m. wide, with a number of articles inside, was found at the foot of Southern Hill in Ning-ch'eng (report published in Li I-yu 1959 B). The most important of these artefacts is a helmet of bronze with a rectangular boss with a hole in the centre (Plate I, No. 6). The helmet is very similar to the heavy cast Scythian helmets found at various places in the Kuban region, round the Volga and in Western Siberia and dating from before the beginning of the sixth century B.C. (B. Z. Rabinovič, 1941). That Ordos helmets of this type are akin to the Scythian helmets has already been pointed out by K. Jettmar (1951, pp. 155—156), on the basis of Matsunaga's Japanese study. The helmet found in the grave discussed above is very reminiscent of the type dealt with by Jettmar (1951, Plate V, 2). The rim of the helmet is studded with small bosses. The other finds were three *ko*, one *mao* spear, a sword scabbard with *lei* ornament, two short swords, four knives and four axes, as well as a nail, arrow-heads, round plates with a slightly convex surface and a button underneath, oblong plaques with an ornament of three animal figures, and a button at each corner on the under-side, two pairs of very stylized animals facing each other, plaques with a *hui* ornament (17) and broken fragments of tools. The large quantity of artefacts in the grave recalls those described by Arne, but unfortunately the illustrations in the Chinese publication are not clear enough to allow of a more detailed comparison. Chinese scholars are of the opinion that such rich bronze finds are rare in a grave (Nei Meng-ku 1961 A). Near the grave there was a settlement where red pottery with a smooth glazed surface and string ornament was found, black smooth glazed pottery and grey or brown pottery with sand in it. A bow ornament has been drawn over the string pattern. Among the forms there were also *li* tripods. In the southern part of Ch'ih-feng city, in Mei-li-ho hsiang district (18) a bronze hoard was also found, including a helmet, a *ko* battle-axe, short swords, ring-shaped platelet ornaments, etc. As in the graves of Luan-p'ing and Hsüan-hua, among the decorative artefacts found here objects of personal adornment and perhaps harness ornaments predominate, alongside weapons and some tools. It seems to have been the funeral furniture from a stone-cist grave. Besides these objects, these hoards have yielded oracle bones, turquoises and shell ornaments. The authors of the report (Nei Meng-ku 1961 A, p. 6) believe that the lower limit for this culture is the *Chan-kuo* era (475—221) and that its bearers were the Eastern Hu (19). Similarly Li I-yu (1959 B, p. 277) attributes the culture to the period of the Eastern Chou (770–475), by which he appears to mean the era preceding that of *Chan-kuo*.

Similar relics revealing affinities with the northern nomad cultures have also been found in Sui-yüan. In 1958 a collection of bronze artefacts, accompanied by grey pottery, was dug up in a sand-pit near the village of Hsi-yao-tzu ts'un (20), not far from the town of Holinkoerh (21) south of Kuei-sui (XI 17). The find included one *ko* with four holes, a short sword with a broken tip and two rings with two grooves ornamenting the pommel, a knife with a broken tip and a triangular hole in the handle, two rings with an ornament formed of intersecting arcs, nine plaques depicting animal figures (eight of them sitting figures); there is a pair of loops on the reverse of each plaque. The ninth depicts a pair of animals *enroulés*. There were also seven tube-shaped ornaments with a spiral design on the outer surface, one of which is flat and elongated. All these articles reveal a specific local colour. The author of the report described the short sword, knife and ornamental plaques as being of the northern Scythian type. The ring and tube ornaments are usually called *chiao* (22) and assumed to be horse ornaments, but from the position in which they were lying when found, they could be belt ornaments. The author of the report assigned the grave to the *Chan-kuo* era (Li I-yu 1959 C) (See also Nei Meng-ku 1961 A, p. 7). This group of finds is completed by a set of bronze plaques bearing a crouching animal design, from Liang-ch'eng district (in Sui-yüan east of Tokoto (XI 15) (Nei Meng-ku 1961 A, p. 7). In the Tumed region (23) west of Kuei-sui a bronze *ko* axe, a bronze sword and animal plaques were found in an ancient grave in 1960. Unfortunately these finds, which probably date from the *Chan-kuo* period, do not yet seem to have been published (NeiMeng-ku 1961 A, p. 7). Chinese archaeologists have pointed out that Chinese relics mainly from Chao and Yen, mingled with relics of the northern tribes, have been found throughout the region round Liang-ch'eng, Tokoto, and Pao-t'ou (XI 3), in short round the northern part of the Yellow River bend. The Chinese states were already using iron, while the northern tribes were still in the Bronze Age. The relics of various northern tribes of the *Chan-kuo* period, assumed by the Chinese to have been the Eastern Hu (Tung-hu), resemble each other to a remarkable degree; they belong to the Ordos bronzes and are markedly influenced by the Siberian bronze culture. Chinese scholars emphasize the differences between the relics of eastern and western Inner Mongolia in the *Chan-kuo* period, and believe that those from the Western area may represent the culture of the Lin Hu (24) and Lou-fan (25) tribes (Nei Meng-ku 1961 A, p. 7).

Our picture of barbarian cultures in the northern region is filled in by finds in the Liao-ning area (26) in Southern Manchuria. An unusual short sword of bronze was found in the autumn of 1953 in a grave in Hai-ch'eng district (27). The hilt is formed by the extension of a prominent round midrib which runs along the whole length of the blade. By this sword lay a kidney-shaped object, probably of hematite, which may be part of the hilt. Similar daggers were found in the winter of 1955 near Liao-yang (28), in 1958 at Chin-hsi (29), below 41°N; and in 1958 three more graves containing daggers of this type were excavated in Ch'ao-yang district (30) between 120° and 121°E and above 41°N. One of these graves was built of pebbles and covered with a stone slab; the bottom was also covered with pebbles, and a stone slab covered the entrance. It was a fairly large grave, 1.8 m by1,2 m, and there were two skeletons in it, lying with their heads to the west, stretched out. Traces of planks and mats were found on the floor, and in addition to several vessels and stone implements the following bronze articles were found in the grave: 2 daggers, 2 knives, one axe, 5 arrowheads, two mirrors with a loop pattern, a chisel, 3 awls, two plaques, three fish buckles and other ornaments probably from harness. There was also a stone hone with a hole drilled through it and weights for nets. Two skeletons were found in another grave too. The author of the report, Chu Kuei (1960) believed the people of the region to have been nomads for whom hunting and fishing were nevertheless important. Between the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Chan-kuo* periods the area was apparently inhabited by various nomad tribes like the Shan Jung and the Tung Hu, and the daggers probably belonged to one of them.

These finds *in situ* prove that the theories of an independent Ordos art closely related to the Scythian art of different parts of Europe and Asia were well-founded. Andersson, Arne, Bleichsteiner, Hamada, Loehr and others recognised the marked affinities between the Ordos bronzes and similar artefacts from the different spheres of Scythian art in Europe and Asia and expressed the view that the former must date from approximately the same time as other relics of the Scythian era. The time frequently proposed is the period between the seventh and second centuries B.C. The examples we have quoted provide several *points d'appu* suggesting that in the Great Wall region this culture did in fact flourish during the period of the Eastern Chou (770—475) and the *Chan-kuo* period (475—221 B.C.). This narrows down Karlgren's theory, that "this art must have existed as a neighbouring art i.e. along the Northern or North-Western frontier of China in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. if not even still earlier . . ." The finds show that this art must have existed as early as the Eastern Chou period, i.e. some time between 770 and 475 B.C. From this we can assume that the culture of the Great Wall region was parallel in time, too, to the Scythian cultures in other parts of Eurasia. It was indubitably a culture determined by the nomad way of life. In any other way of life this cultural complex would make no sense, for in it art served primarily to enhance the personal prestige of the warrior-horseman, and therefore first place was given to articles of personal use, especially weapons, followed by dress ornaments and harness ornaments. As we have already repeatedly pointed out, this does not necessarily mean that the complete ethnic group in which these cultural elements are found was nomadic. It is probable that certain social groups lived as nomads while others, alongside, lived as farmers and perhaps as hunters and fishermen. This is the only interpretation to be put on the occurrence of stone-cist graves containing rich collections of Ordos bronzes, weapons, and so on, alongside graves which contain no Ordos relics and are decidedly poor in all respects. It is not impossible that differences in the wealth acquired had grown up, varying from one social or ethnic group to another. The finds described here give us the temporal and cultural context into which we can fit the previously unidentified finds from Luan-p'ing and Hsüan-hua, and they also allow us to assign a more precise date to the finds in Ch'ih-feng.

We have ascertained that in the Great Wall region the Ordos bronze culture grew up on an older substratum for which stone-cist burial was characteristic. This cultural substratum must have been widespread, from the Tibetan frontiers in the south-west to Central Siberia in the north and the Gulf of Po-hai in the east. It is probable that the first culture to grow out of this substratum was that of Karasuk, followed by the various branches of Scythian culture, the Tagar culture in the Altai mountains, others in Minusinsk, Inner Mongolia, and ultimately in the Great Wall region as well. Obviously these cultures already revealed distinct features, in the Great Wall region as well; we can discern independent "Scythian" cultural complexes in the west round the Ordos region, in the east in Jehol, and perhaps the Manchurian region forms another independent province of Scythian culture. Indubitably these cultural differences reflect ethnic and economic differences which persisted for centuries.

The close relationship between the Ordos culture and the stone-cist grave culture allows us to set a date to its end with some degree of accuracy. Discussing the culture of the first nomads in the Baikal region and Selenga in Mongolia, we showed that the stone-cist culture there came to an end with the arrival of the Huns, who brought with them a completely different burial rite. It is likely that a fundamental change took place in the Great Wall region, too, with the arrival of the Huns. An Chih-min, who has studied the stone-cist grave culture in north-west Ho-pei and in Manchuria (1954, p. 82), reached the same conclusions as the Soviet scholars studying the same culture in the Baikal region and in Mongolia. An Chih-min also concluded that the stone-cist graves date from before the Han period; we could make this statement more precise and say that they date from the period before the Huns arrived in the region, and were built by the people who lived there before that date. There is evidence, in fact, that just as in the west the Sarmatians took the place of the Scythians, in the east the Hsiung-nu followed the people of the Ordos culture. This has been proved by the latest excavations made by Chinese archaeologists in 1959, north of the province of Hei-lung-chiang in Cha-lai-no-erh (31) (on the East China Railway shortly before the Soviet frontier) and especially by finds in the Tung-shan hsiang (32) ward of Hsi-feng district (33) in Liao-ning province (1956), in the north-eastern part of Liao-ning, near the Kirin border, south of 43°N.

In both these localities great burial grounds were excavated; that in Hsi-feng is particularly extensive — 63 graves were excavated of a probable total of 450–500. These are single graves, containing one skeleton only. The oblong pits are about 1,7 m long, 80 cm wide and 20–60 cm deep. The dead lay mostly with their heads to the north-west. Traces of wood and mats were found in the graves. The arrangement of the burial ground, which lies on the ridge of a hill, betrays a strongly marked hierarchy: the graves are closer together in the centre, and it is there that the finest works of art were found; on the tip of the hill, towards the east, isolated horse skulls protruded from the ground in rows, presumably the custom of burying their horses with the dead had survived in this form. The considerable differences between the contents of various graves point to sharp social distinctions. Horses' teeth are found in many graves, but most frequently in the central section; in some of the graves we find only crude pottery, an iron knife, an awl, and a few ornaments like glass beads and bronze bubbles. In other graves, by contrast, there are long and short weapons, harness and ornaments; these differences in the funeral furniture are eloquent of social distinctions. The regular arrangement of the gifts to the dead suggests strict military habits: weapons, a spear, sword or knife, are laid at the left side, above or below the body lie arrowheads of bronze or iron — in some graves the arrowheads are of stone. Above the head we frequently find pieces of harness such as bits, and in the same position at least two, or at most six, vessels. Ornaments lie at the waist, or at the place where they were worn, on the head, neck, chest, belly or leg. In the region of the abdomen we always find small iron knives with rings, iron awls, threaded bells and clay spinning discs. The impression of a company of soldiers is enhanced by the fact that from the evidence of their teeth it can be concluded that all the men were young or at least in the prime of life; there are very few old men. It should of course be remembered that this is the common phenomenon in all neolithic and early historical burial grounds. The burial ground investigated here had been in use for half a century, or a century at the most.

This burial ground yielded a rich collection of 13,850 articles of various kinds. The most important were the weapons, and among these the swords; altogether there were 71, all iron. Two types of bronze hilt occur: decorated at the tip with half-moons recalling birds *en face*, or shaped like columns with seven or eight rings threaded round them and tinkling when moved. Some of the sword-hilts were of wood. Most of the swords were 60—80 cm. long, but some were longer and the longest of all measured 1.02 m. All the knives were long, with rings on the handles, but they were fairly few. The second most frequent weapon was the spear, apparently used on a long shaft, but there were also short iron shafts; this type of spear was probably used together with a sword. Of 48 spears found, three were of bronze. There were small axes both of iron and of bronze. The weapons had seen much use and showed signs of damage and of repair. A large quantity of ornaments was found, the most important being bronze plaques, sometimes gilded, and decorated with animal designs such as two bulls, two horses, two sheep, camels, a horse and dog, horse and stag, hawk and tiger, etc. On some plaques the animals are still, on others they are fighting. There are striking designs showing scenes of nomad life, a horseman capturing a prisoner a horseman setting out for the hunt, etc., and revealing creative talent and originality. Fragments of an iron pot, bronze pitchers and large quantities of pottery were also found in the graves, and even two *li*, evidence of the ancient influence of China on the tribe, as Sun Shou-tao suggests. The traditions of nomad art mingle with strong Chinese influences, seen in the decoration of the swords and spears, the dress ornaments, mirrors, etc. On the basis of the Chinese coins, the mirrors and the pottery the burial ground can be dated in the reigns of the emperors Wu-ti (140—87) and Shao-ti (86—74). The people clearly belonged to the Hsiung-nu, but it is difficult to say whether they themselves were Hsiung-nu or some tribe subject to them. The report on this burial ground was published by Sun Shou-tao (1960).

The burial ground to the north of Hei-lung chiang, in the endless steppe plain, is equally extensive. It includes about 300 graves, most of them clay pits from one to three metres deep. In some of the graves birch coffins had been used. The skeletons lie with the head to the north, but while in some graves there are headless bodies, in others there are bodiless heads. Along the sides of the coffin the funeral gifts were laid — horse or cattle heads. The funeral vessels were either placed above the head, or at the level of the brow, and some of the vessels were found to contain sheep bones. Large quantities of ornaments were found, especially plaques depicting horses, stags etc. The dead wore necklaces of beads and held jade plaques in their hands; beside them lay bronze warming pans with handles. Some of the artefacts have strong local colour, like the brown hand-made pottery, the bone tools, the birch-bark caps, etc. There are many Chinese artefacts in these graves — pottery, lacquer goods, mirrors, etc. It is remarkable that there is no mention of weapons found here, except for arrowheads, all of bone. This far-away tribe seems to have felt safe. (The excavation of this burial ground was reported by Cheng Lung, 1961.)

From the sum total of results from these excavations we can draw significant conclusions. The funeral rite changed completely, the stone-cist graves yielding to burial in clay pits in which the dead were at least in some cases provided with a coffin. We must conclude from this that with the Hsiung-nu a new ethnic element arrived in the region, bringing with it new customs which did not give way to the local customs. The basic techniques changed fundamentally, since the use of iron now became general, iron taking the place of bronze for weapons and tools. This must mean that the new tools and weapons were available for broader strata of the population. The evidence of a firm hierarchy provided by these burials and the uniform funeral furniture offers interesting evidence in confirmation of Chinese stories of how the founder of Hun power, Mao-tun (34), transformed his band of followers into a platoon of mounted warriors, disciplined and obedient to one single command. This new military organization was clearly connected with new battle tactics giving greater importance to striking and cutting weapons, and stressing hand-to-hand fighting. This explains the longer sword and spears of iron found in the graves. We must assume that the old democratic cluster of mounted archers yielded to a phalanx of mounted warriors attacking in solid formation. The Hsiung-nu probably used the same fighting tactics and the same equipment as the Sarmatians brought up against the Scythians in the west. We should not forget that in his youth Mao-tun had been held hostage by the Yüeh-chih, where he had the chance to see the more advanced fighting tactics used in Central Asia. There seem to be no traces of heavy armour in these graves, however. The increasing use of iron led to the falling-off of the bronze industry.

which gradually became used only for ornament, and thus lost its vital importance.

These changes in social organization involved a marked change in the position of the individual, which naturally made itself felt throughout the cultural sphere. It could probably be said that the social basis for the most characteristic forms of Scythian art had now disappeared, the basis for those elements of Scythian art which were bound up with the person of the free mounted archer, decorating himself and his horse with a wealth of bronze ornaments depicting his vital interests, the hunt and battle. Animals and birds of prey, with their insatiable lust for loot, were probably the most eloquent symbols of this culture, arising from the struggle to conquer and divide this vast steppe region; that is why these are the commonest motifs in Scythian art. Now the future would belong not to the bold individual but to a disciplined and trained body of horsemen, and this was bound to be reflected in a complete change of style. K. Jettmar (1964, p. 157), who analyzed the finds from the princes' barrows of the Hsiung-nu, excavated in the Noin Ula region, showed that there were hardly any examples of the Animal Style among the metal objects (p. 153) and suggested outright that it was hardly reasonable to assume that the Animal Style still predominated when the Hsiung-nu kingdom was at its height (p. 157). The finds made during the excavations we have discussed earlier, and particularly those at Hsi-feng, do not support this sceptical point of view. As we have seen, evidence of the Animal Style was still plentiful in Hsi-feng, and in the opinion of Chinese scholars the style still revealed exceptional originality and creative power. Naturally when, as we have shown, the social and psychological roots of this ancient art had died away, the art itself was bound to die away in time, even if it held its own for a while. It is certainly very unlikely that the peak period of this style should be attributed to this time, as Chêng Tê-k'un thought, among others.

While archaeological finds have provided us with a pointer to the time at which the period of Scythian art came to an end in the region of the Great Wall and its environs, if we wish to determine the time of its onset, even approximately, we must turn to completely different sources. We have already spoken of the fierce struggle of each against all, throughout the steppe belt, which probably accompanied the genesis of the horse-nomad way of life, and suggested that this struggle must have begun somewhere in the ninth or eighth centuries. We accepted the view that the first horse-nomad period was a time of bitter strife which did not calm down until the division and occupation of the steppe belt by the new ruling tribes was completed, and the new masters had become so rich in herds and booty that they felt the need of peace and quiet in order to enjoy the wealth they had acquired.

It is of course difficult to find evidence of this early phase in the archaeological material excavated, although Grjaznov had the good fortune to find abundant illustration of this turbulent period in his Bolšaja Rečka excavations. It is far more likely that such developments would be reflected in the written sources. This is so in the West, where many writers commented on the invasions and-battles between the Scythians and the Cimmerians, and in our opinion it is equally true of the Far East, where these developments seem to be reflected in Chinese writings. In my view we should not consider the conquest of the Shang kingdom by the Chou as the consequence of nomad migrations, as K. Jettmar suggested, but I believe that this should be accepted as the context in which a whole series of barbarian invasions of Chinese territory took place, from the raids of the Hsien-yün at the end of the ninth century B.C. to the migration eastward of the Ti in the seventh century B.C. We should not overlook one interesting circumstance: while the movements of the Scythians and Cimmerians were towards the west or the south-west, the barbarians in China moved in the opposite direction, to the east or south-east. This creates the impression that all these movements were directed out and away from the Euro-Asian steppe belt, and this in itself suggests the possible causes behind them.

Invasions by the Hsien-yün

XV

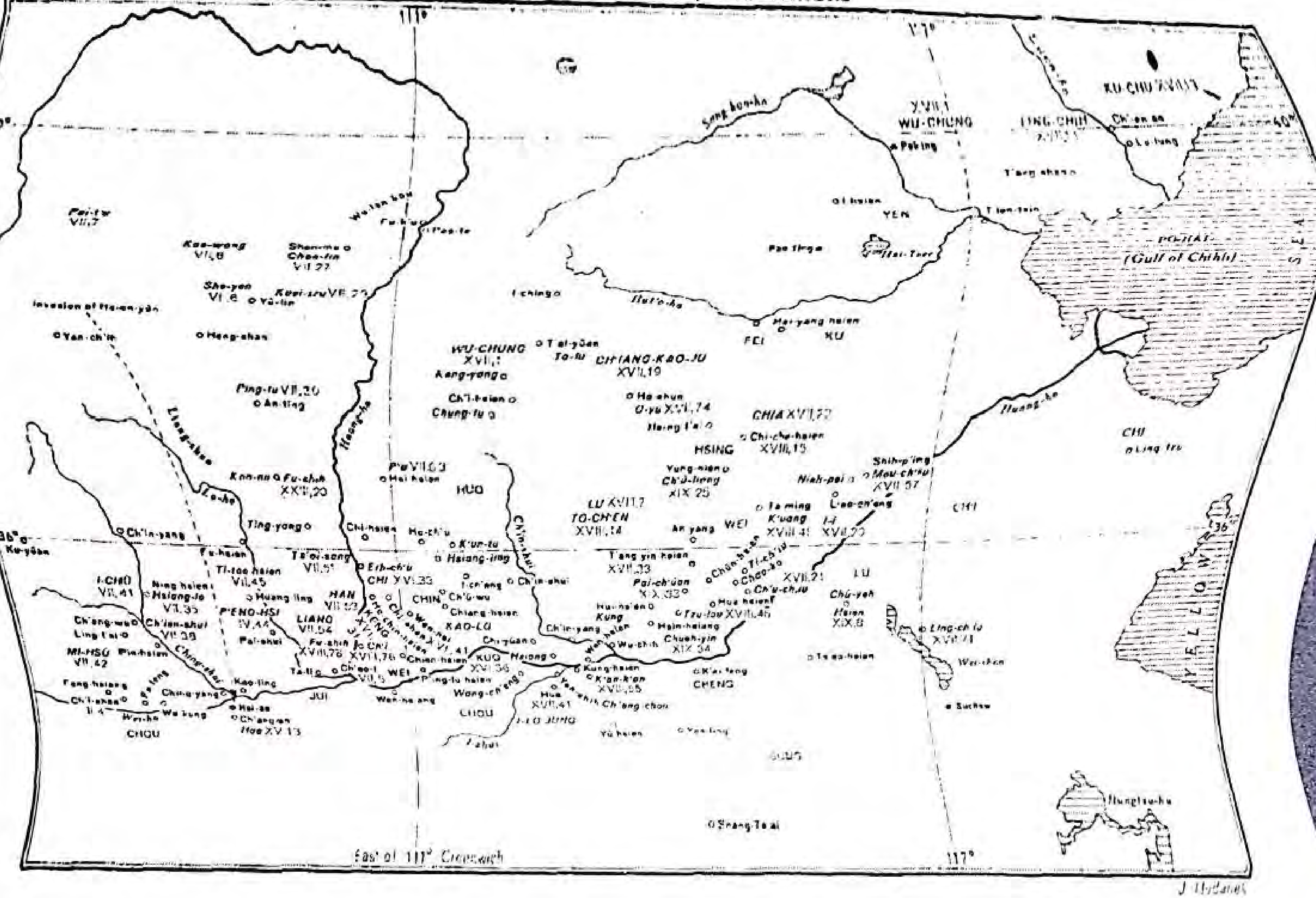
There is undoubtedly a striking parallel between the time when furious fighting broke out and Cimmerian and Scythian raiders appeared in the west, heralding the rule of the horse nomads in the steppes, and the time when the Chou kingdom was subjected to no less furious attacks by the Hsien-yün (I 3). The Cimmerians appeared in Transcaucasia and the eastern regions of Asia Minor in the thirties of the eighth century B.C., while in China the first report of the Hsien-yün was dated 823 B.C. This coincidence raises the question of a possible connection in the deeper sense.

Apart from the conquest of the Shang kingdom by the Chou dynasty there is no event in ancient Chinese history that has left such a profound mark on the historical sources as the fighting against the Hsien-yün. This fighting is the subject of four songs in the *Shih-ching*: *Ts'ai wei* (1) (L Ch Cl IV, 2, 258); A. Waley (1954, p. 122); B. Karlgren (1944, p. 40); B. Karlgren (1950 B, p. 110); *Ch'u ch'e* (2) (L Ch Cl IV, 2, 261); A. Waley (1954, p. 124); B. Karlgren (1944, p. 43); B. Karlgren (1950, p. 112); *Liu yüeh* (3) (L Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 281); A. Waley (1954, p. 126); B. Karlgren (1944, p. 5); B. Karlgren (1950, p. 119); *Ts'ai ch'i* (4) (L Ch Cl IV, p. 284); A. Waley (1954, p. 128); B. Karlgren (1944, p. 52); B. Karlgren (1950, p. 121). It is also mentioned in three inscriptions on bronze vessels: *Kuo Chi Tzu-pai p'an* (5) (Kuo Mo-jo 1957, vol. 7, p. 103b); *Pu-ch'i kuei* (6), (Kuo Mo-jo 1957, vol. 7, p. 106a); *Hsi-chia p'an* (7) (Kuo Mo-jo 1957, vol. 7, p. 143b).

It must be made clear from the outset that none of these sources can be regarded as true historical documents; their aim was never to give an account of an actual event, but to celebrate someone — and that applies to both the inscriptions on bronze vessels and the songs. The former usually refer to some outstanding act by a statesman or general, and the honours conferred on him by the monarch. Three of the songs are also in celebration of great deeds by individual warriors, and only the song *Ts'ai wei* differs, being a lyric expressing the feelings of soldiers sent to defend the country against the Hsien-yün. Their very purpose thus makes it clear that these sources can only offer a very limited body of concrete historical information.

There was no general agreement, in the old days, on the period to which these documents belong. This is reflected in the foreword to the *Shih-ching*, where we read of the song *Ts'ai wei* (L Ch Cl IV, Prolegomena, p. 64) that it dates from the reign of King Wen of Chou, who sent his men to guard the country from the K'un I (V 73) in the west and from the Hsien-yün in the north. The song Ch'u-ch'e is then said to be in celebration of the soldiers' return home. The songs *Liu-*

TI AND THE CHINESE STATES IN THE CHOU PERIOD. HSIEN-YUN INVASIONS, TI MIGRATIONS


40°
36°
111°
117°
East of 111° Greenwich
Invasion of Hsien-yün
Yen-ch'ih
Pai-ti VII,7
Kao-wang VII,8
She-yen VII,6
Shen-mu
Chao-lin VII,22
Kuei-sui VII,23
Yü-lin
Heng-shan
Ping-lu VII,30
An-ting
Liang-shao
Lo-ho
Kan-nu
Fu-shih XXII,20
Ting-yang
Ch'in-yang
Ku-yüan
Fu-hsien
Ti-tao hsien VII,45
I-CHU VII,41
Ning hsien
Hsiang-lo VII,35
Ch'ang-wu
Ch'ien-shui VII,38
Ling t'ai
MI-HSÜ VII,42
Pin-hsien
Ching-shui
Feng-hsiang
Ch'i-shan
Wei-ho
Wu kung
CHOU
Ching-yang
Kao-ling
Hsi-an
Ch'ang-an
Hao XV,13
Huang ling
P'ENG-HSI IV,44
Pai-shui
LIANG VII,54
HAN VII,52
Ta'i-sang VII,51
Ta-li
JUI
Ch'ao-i VII,5
WEI
Wen-hsiang
Fu-shih
Ho-chin-hsien
KENG
Erh-ch'u
CHI XVI,33
Wu-lan-hou
Fu-ku
Pao-te
Huang-ho
P'u VII,63
Hsi hsien
Chi-hsien
Ho-ch'u
HUO
K'un-tu
Hsiang-ling
I-ch'ang
CHIN
Ch'ü-wu
Chiang-hsien
KAO-LO
Ch'in-shui
Chi-yüan
Hsiang
KUO XVI,36
Chien-hsien
P'ing-lu hsien
Wang-ch'eng
CHOU
Lo-shui
WU-CHUNG XVI,1
Kang-yang
Ch'i-hsien
Chung-tu
I-ching
T'ai-yüan
To-lu
CH'IANG-KAO-JU XVI,19
Ho-shun
O-yü XVI,74
Hsing t'ai
Hu'o-ho
Sang kan-ho
Hai-yang hsien
FEI
KU
Pao-ting
Hsi-Tien
I hsien
YEN
CHIA XVII,22
Chi-che-hsien XVIII,15
HSING
Yung-nien
Ch'ü-liang XIX,25
LU XVII,7
TO-CH'EN XVIII,14
An yang
WEI
T'ang yin hsien XVII,33
Pai-ch'üan XIX,33
Hui-hsien
Kung
Hsin-hsiang
Ch'in-yang
Wu-chih
Chueh-yin XIX,34
Tsu-lou XVIII,46
Ch'ü-chiu
Chao-ko
Ti-ch'iu
Hua hsien
XVII,21
Kung-hsien
K'an-k'an XVII,55
Hua XVII,41
I-LO JUNG
Ch'eng chou
Yü hsien
Yen-ling
K'ai feng
CHENG
SUNG
Shang-Ts'ai
Ta ming
K'uang XVIII,41
Nieh-pei
Shih-p'ing
Mou-ch'iu XVII,57
Liao-ch'eng
LI XVII,23
LU
Chü-yeh
Hsien XIX,8
Ling-ch'iu XVII,1
Tsou-hsien
Wei-shan
Suchow
CHI
Ling Tzu
CH'I
Huang-ho
T'ien-tsin
T'ang-shan
Peking
XVIII,1
WU-CHUNG
LING-CHIH XVII,1
Ch'ien an
Lo-lung
Lu-ho
KU-CHU XVII,1
PO-HAI
(Gulf of Chihli)
YELLOW SEA
Hungtsu-hu

J. Hadanek

yuen and *Ts'ai-ch'i*, on the other hand, are attributed to the reign of King Hsüan (827—782), the former in honour of his expedition to the north and the latter about his expedition to the south (Prolegomena pp. 65 and 66). The Nan Chung mentioned in the song *Ch'u-ch'e* was therefore assumed to be someone of King Wen's time, and the phrase *Wang ming ch'ing shih Nan Chung t'ai tsu t'ai shih Huang-fu* (8) in the introduction to the song Ch'ang-wu (9) (L Ch Cl IV, p. 555) was read as "the king gave charge to his minister, a descendant of Nan Chung, the Grand Master Huang-fu". Huang-fu of King Hsüan's reign was assumed to be a descendant of Nan Chung of King Wen's reign. Wang Kuo-wei (1923, p. 10b) has already pointed out that in the *Han-shu* (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, chapter 20. Ku chin jen-piao (10), p. 40a) Nan Chung appears as an official of the reign of King Hsüan. Likewise in the *Hou Han-shu* ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 51, in the biography of P'ang Ts'an (11), p. 5b, we have Ma Yung's (12) memorial to the throne, where we read: "In the old days, under (king) Hsüan of Chou, the Hsien-yün attacked Hao (13) and Fang (14), and under Emperor Hsiao Wen (15) the Hsiung-nu raided Shang-chün (16). King Hsüan nevertheless earned fame for renewing the glory of the Chou dynasty and Emperor Wen acquired the title T'ai Tsung (17). In Chou songs we therefore find the "awe-inspiring Nan Chung". It is clear from this that both Pan Ku and Ma Yung, the author of this memorial, thought Nan Chung lived in the days of King Hsüan. On the other hand we must not lose sight of the fact that in the *Han-shu* (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien chapter 94A, p. 1b) single sentences from the song *Ts'ai-wei* are quoted as evidence of the degeneration of China under King I (18), when "the Ti and the Jung vied with each other in tormenting China". It is obvious that in Han times the traditional date for the separate poems in the *Shih-ching* had not yet become fixed.

The songs celebrating the fighting against the Hsien-yün, like the inscriptions referring to these events, form a single complete whole, and there is no need to separate them and attribute them to different dates. Modern scholars generally date them to the reign of King Hsüan, a theory accepted by Wang Kuo-wei (1923 A, p. 10b and 11a), Wu Ch'i-ch'ang (1929, pp. 1106ff.), Li Hsüeh-ch'in (1959, p. 47) and Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 283), who speaks of Western Chou inscriptions. Of the European scholars A. Waley (1954, p. 122) accepts this date, while B. Karlgren (1936, p. 44) thought that the inscription on the *Kuo Chi Tzu-pai p'an* dated from the time of King Hsüan's successor, Yu (781—771), because the text contains the phrase: "the king went to the temple of Chou to the shooting arena of Hsüan wang's temple and there gave a feast . . .". Kuo Mo-jo (1957, Vol. 7, pp. 105a—106a) has convincingly shown, however, that in this context the word *hsüan* should not be taken as the name of the king, but in the sense of a 'good' name used to designate a building belonging to the king; in the form Hsüan-shih (19) this was used in both Shang and Han times.

I feel that the final word should be given to the greatest authority on Chinese epigraphy, Wang Kuo-wei. In his study (1923 B, p. 2b) he speaks of the king's visit to Hsüan-hsieh (20), and close upon this (p. 3a) dates the vessel *Kuo Chi Tzu-pai p'an*, on which the reference to Hsüan-hsieh occurs, in the reign of King

Hsüan; Wang Kuo-wei uses the dating of this vessel as proof of the accuracy of the dates of other vessels of the King Hsüan period. It is therefore clear that he saw no reason why this particular vessel should not date from the time of King Hsüan. On the other hand we must reject Kuo Mo-jo's suggestion, in his analysis of this inscription, that the expedition referred to was that sent by King I against the Jung of T'ai-yüan, mentioned above on p. 74. There is no reason to confuse the Jung of T'ai-yüan with the Hsien-yün, and we must also bear in mind, as already pointed out, that these documents concerning the Hsien-yün clearly form a single whole. There are also other reasons, which we shall come to in due course, for rejection of Kuo Mo-jo's dating of this vessel.

Wu Ch'i-ch'ang (1929, pp. 1047ff.) subjected the documents concerning the fighting against the Hsien-yün to detailed study, and because two dates occur in the inscriptions on the bronzes: year 5 of King Hsüan (*Hsi-chia p'an*) and year 12 (*Kuo Chi Tzu-pai*), he divided the documents into two groups. *Hsi-chia p'an* and the songs *Liu-yüeh*, *Ch'u ch'e* and *Ts'ai-wei* he assigns to year 5, while the bronze *Kuo Chi Tzu-pai*, the inscription *Pu-ch'i kuei* and the song *Ts'ai ch'i* are assigned to year 12.

The inscription *Hsi-chia p'an* and the song *Liu-yüeh* are connected by the name Chi-fu (21) mentioned in both. The identity of the name in both cases is accepted by Kuo Mo-jo (1957, Vol. 7, p. 144a), who thought that Po Chi-fu was his *tzu*, Chia his *ming* and Hsi his *shih* (22). Apparently he was also called Yin Chi-fu (23), *yin* being his office. The name Yin Chi-fu occurs in our present text of the *Chu-shu chi nien* (ed. Wang Kuo-wei, Part B, p. 12b): "In the sixth month of the fifth year Yin Chi-fu led an army to attack the Hsien-yün, and reached T'ai-yüan". Wu Ch'i-ch'ang (1929, p. 1104) quoted a lecture given by Wang Kuo-wei at Ch'ing-hua University in which he said that although the dating given in the existing text of the *Chu-shu chi-nien* is extremely confused, this particular statement is a relic of the older text. Since my own analysis of the present text of the *Chu-shu chi-nien* (Průšek 1958) revealed cases of very skilful and indeed audacious forgery, we are bound to treat even this statement with due reserve. It is not impossible that the forger invented it, on the basis of the *Hsi Chia p'an* inscription, the song *Liu-yüeh* and the facts given in the foreword, where we are told of four songs (given Nos. 259, 260, 261 and 262 by Karlgren) that they were composed by Yin Chi-fu (21) in honour of King Hsüan (L Ch Cl IV, Prolegomena p. 77). In any case, this fact tells us nothing new about the fighting against the Hsien-yün, except for the new variant of the name Chi-fu.

Whether the songs *Ch'u-ch'e* and *Ts'ai-wei* should be connected with the fifth year is also open to question. There is no doubt that both deal with the same subject, a military expedition to the frontier to guard it against the Hsien-yün. In both songs the army sets out in spring, when the cherry tress are in bloom, and by the time they return the snow is falling. Both songs may refer to the same event, an expedition to the north to strengthen the defences of the region, *ch'eng pei shuo fang* (24) (L Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 263). In view of the context I am of the opinion that *fang*, two lines earlier, is only an abbreviation for Shuo-fang. This is the view of

Wang Kuo-wei (1923 A, p. 7b) and Arthur Waley (1954, p. 124) also translates both cases simply as "the frontier". For discussion of whether this passage refers to an unspecified "frontier" or to a place Fang, mentioned in the song *Liu-yüeh* (L. Ch Cl V, p. 283), see B. Karlgren 1950 B, p. 113. I see no particular reason to connect these two songs with the events of the fifth year. It is possible that they refer to this year, but it is equally possible that they refer to any other time at which it was necessary to strengthen the frontier against the Hsien-yün.

Nor do I feel that Wu Ch'i-ch'ang has given any conclusive reason why we should connect the song *Ts'ai-ch'i* with the events of the twelfth year of Hsüan, merely that it says "foolish were the tribes of Ching" while the *Kuo Chi Pai tzu* inscription says "I give you this axe to use in expeditions against the Man country". The Chou kings were constantly at war with the southern barbarians, however, so that this reference to fighting on two fronts, against the Hsien-yün in the north and the Man in the south, could apply to any time when China was threatened by the former.

On the whole these three songs provide us with little concrete historical knowledge; it is rather that they help to fill in the general picture.

We do find historical facts in the three inscriptions and the song *Liu-yüeh*, which we will now attempt to sort out. Wu Ch'i-ch'ang appears to have read more into his sources than they really contain, and we shall therefore try to be as sober as possible in our interpretations, not disguising their purely hypothetical value. According to the *Hsi Chia p'an* inscription the king attacked the Hsien-yün for the first time in the last quarter of the third month of the fifth year of King Hsüan (823 B.C.), on the day of keng-yin, at X. Wang Kuo-wei (1923 A, p. 8b) read this name as P'eng-ya (IV 45), the name of the place mentioned above (p. 55). P'eng-ya lay to the north-east of the present-day district of Pai-shui (VII 58), in the lower reaches of the river Lo in Shen-hsi. This identification is based on no more than a presumed phonetic value, and is questionable in the extreme.

This first encounter with the Hsien-yün seems to have ended in victory for the king. According to this inscription, "Hsi Chia went with the king on this expedition, cut off heads and captured prisoners, and thanks to him we were not destroyed".[26] The king then gave Chia four horses and a chariot with four young horses, and commanded him" to govern and rule over four districts round Ch'eng Chou (the capital in the eastern part of the king's lands) and collect the taxes as far as to the southern barbarians on the river Huai". The inscription goes on to list the duties the man so honoured was supposed to demand from the Huai I.

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[26] I consider the phrase 休亡敃 [Kuo Mo-jo reads 泯] to be a parallel to that found in the *Pu-ch'i kuei* inscription: 休弗以我車圅 [Kuo reads 陷] 于艱 [Kuo reads 艱] "graciously you did not meet disaster with my chariots". Practically the identical phrase occurs in the inscription on the *Mao kung ting* 毛公鼎 (Kuo Mo-jo 1957, vol. 7, p. 135a): *Yü ju fu i nai pi hsien yü chien*, 俗女弗以乃辟圅(陷)于艱, which is interpreted by W. H. C. A. Dobson (1962, p. 59) thus: "I wish you may not become ensnared by difficulties on account of your duties."

It is difficult to see how we can connect the facts recounted in this inscription with the situation described in the song *Liu-yüeh*, always assuming that both documents do in fact refer to the same event. It might be possible to imagine that the Hsien-yün, defeated somewhere in the north-east or to the east of the Chou domain in the third month, penetrated to Chiao-huo (25). This place is well enough known, although its exact location cannot be given. It is mentioned in the 110th chapter of the *Shih-chi* (ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 2), where the Ch'üan Jung (II 12) are said to have killed King Yu and captured Chiao-huo from the Chou and penetrated into the region between the rivers Ching (I 10) and Wei (V 21). In the *Erh-ya*, in the part *Shih-ti* (26), p. 6a, the Chou Chiao-huo is given among ten *sou* (27), "marshes, jungle". The commentaries identify this Chiao-huo with Hu-chung (28). The most detailed localization is the description in *Shui-ching chu* (ed. Szu pu pei-yao, ch. 16, p. 25a) of how the river Chü (V 27) runs into the Cheng Canal (29) further to the east; this was a famous canal linking the river Ching with the Lo (see Ch M II 3, p. 324). At the beginning the canal took in the river Ching, at Hu-k'ou (30), by the Western Lodging-house, Hsi-ti (31), in Chung-shan (32). According to the Geographical Dictionary this place lay 2 *li* north-west of the present Ching-yang district (33). Hu-k'ou or Hu-chung was obviously the starting-point of the Cheng canal, for which a marshy place was probably ideal. This reliably locates Chiao-huo on the lower reaches of the river Ching, not far from its mouth.

According to the song, Hsien-yün from Chiao-huo attacked Hao (13) and Fang (14) and got as far as Ching-yang (33). Hao was undoubtedly the Chou capital, Hao, which Ch'en Meng-chia (II 1955, p. 141) places south of the later Ch'ang-an, to the north of K'un-ming ch'ih (34) and to the east of the river Feng-shui (35).

Before attempting to trace Fang, let us try to explain the name Ching-yang (33). The place has been identified with the Han district of the same name, which lay forty *li* to the west of P'ing-liang hsien (36). This is rather far to the north-west, however, and Wang Kuo-wei therefore preferred to look for Ching-yang in the place of that name located on the lower Ching. In the context of this song I feel that Ching-yang means no more than "the northern bank of the river Ching", and probably refers to no one particular place. Later we shall quote Lo-yang, "the northern bank of the river Lo", as the site of other fighting against the Hsien-yün. However that may be, these names give us a fairly definite geographical context, a triangle with one point at the town of Hao in the south and the others at Chiao-huo and Ching-yang in the north, covering the region round the lower Ching and the opposite bank of the river Wei. It is my opinion that Fang must also be sought in this area; Wang Kuo-wei (*chi-lin* ch. 12, p. 6a) identified it with X (37) frequently referred to in Chou inscriptions and said to have lain near the south-east borders of Shan-hsi in what is now Yung-chi hsien (38). Earlier (p. 75) we pointed out that the location of T'ai-yüan in Shan-hsi is very doubtful, since it does not fit the historical context, and the same is true of this location for Fang. It is unlikely that the Hsien-yün could have attacked at the same time two regions so far apart as the lower reaches of the Ching and the eastern bank of the Yellow River. I therefore suggest that Fang, too, must be sought somewhere in the country between the rivers Ching, Lo and Wei. It is quite possible that the X of the inscriptions is indeed our Fang, but in that case it must have lain somewhere in the western Chou domains, which would also explain why the king went so often there. For this reason the T'ai-yüan given in the song as the furthest point reached by the royal armies pursuing the Hsien-yün, should also, I feel, be sought somewhere to the north of this region, between the Ching and the Lo, and not too far from the royal domains (see above, p.p. 75 ff.).

The song *Liu-yüeh* makes it quite clear that the Hsien-yün aimed their attack right at the heart of the Chou territories on both sides of the river Wei, with the capital Hao. We must assume, as we shall show later, that they came from the north, and there is no doubt that an attack in this area, which involved the crossing of a considerable river (even if dried up at this time of year) reflects military skill and audacity. We can appreciate the fact that Chi-fu was rewarded with important offices and rank for his major part in defeating this attack.

This same problem of whether this or that document can be taken to refer to this or that event arises with regard to the documents believed by Chinese scholars to be connected with the twelfth year of King Hsüan. We have already seen that the vessel *Kuo Chi Tzu-pai p'an* is dated in the twelfth year of King Hsüan, and Chinese scholars refer the vessel *Pu-ch'i kuei* to that year also, believing (as does Kuo Mo-jo, vol. 7, p. 106a) that the *Pai shih*, "lord Pai" of the Kuo Chi Tzu-pai vessel is the *Pai shih* of the *Pu-ch'i kuei* vessel. There seems to be nothing more involved than agreement between one part of the name in each case, which is a rather doubtful argument. Equally questionable is the dating of the events described. The *Kuo Chi Tzu-pai* tells us that in the twelfth year, first month, first quarter, on the day Ting-hai, Tzu-pai made this vessel to commemorate his victorious deeds. We must therefore assume that the fighting had taken place earlier, perhaps in the eleventh year as Kuo Mo-jo would have us believe (p. 105a), and perhaps even earlier. The inscription celebrates "the generally famed Tzu-pai" and says of him: "You were eager in pursuit of military duties,[27] you brought order to four parts of the world, you attacked[28] the Hsien-yün valiantly on the northern bank of the Lo, you cut off five hundred heads, you took fifty prisoners. Thus you proceeded in front of all.[29] Martial was Tzu-pai,[30] and presented the ears he had cut off to the king . . . ." The inscription goes on to describe how the king gave a feast for Tzu-pai in the Chou temple, in the shooting arena, and gave him a horse, bow, coloured arrows and a battle-axe "for him to use against the land of the barbarians" (39).

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[27] Maspero reads 肖 ; as 牖 ; 武于戎工 is clearly a parallel to the phrase 女肇誨于戎工 on the *Pu-ch'i kuei* inscription. Kuo Mo-jo (op. cit. p. 107a) on the authority of Wang Kuo-wei assumes that 誨 is a loan for 敏, quoting the poem *Chiang Han* 江漢 where (L Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 554) we read: 肇敏戎公. Karlgren (1946 A, p. 134) suggests that *chao* has the same meaning as *min* and that it is thus a synonym binome with the meaning "active"; he interprets *jung* as "your" and *kung* as 工 "work", thus translating the sentence as: "You have been active in your work". Kuo Mo-jo (p. 104a) reads the first character as 壯 *chuang*, "strong, energetic", arriving at: "You have been energetic and active in your work". Of course Kuo Mo-jo (p. 107a) interprets *jung-kung* as "warlike work" 甲兵之事.

This inscription extends the scene of fighting with the Hsien-yün to include the northern bank of the river Lo. Kuo Mo-jo (p. 104b) stresses that it must have been "to the east of the northern Lo"; I think it is clear that the words "on the northern bank of the Lo" refer to the lower reaches of the River Lo, where it runs due east, and that the "northern bank" is a very apt phrase. The battle must have been furious indeed, if five hundred of the enemy were killed and only fifty taken prisoner.

The most interesting piece of information about the fighting against the Hsien-yün comes from the *Pu-ch'i kuei* inscription: "In the ninth month, in the first quarter, on the day *hsü shen*, Lord Pai said: Pu-ch'i Yü-fang,[31] the Hsien-yün are grievously troubling[32] our Western yü, the Hsi-yü (40). The king has ordered me to move forward and pursue them to the west. I came in person to hand over the prisoners. I told you to pursue the enemy as far as X with war-chariots. You attacked the Hsien-yün with great force in my war-chariots, at Kao-ling (41). You cut off many heads and took prisoners. The Jung gathered together and pursued you for a long way.[33] You fought hard against the Jung and graciously did not fall into trouble[34] with my chariots. You secured many severed heads and many prisoners. Lord Pai declares: Pu-ch'i, my son, you have been active in military work. I present you with a bow, a quiver of arrows, five families of serfs, ten fields, and may you long enjoy them. Pu-ch'i touched the ground with his forehead and had this *kuei* vase made in honour of our exalted ancestors Kung-po (42) and Meng-chi (43)."

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[28] The expression 搏伐 seems to correspond to 敦搏 in the *Pu-ch'i kuei* inscription, or to 撲伐 on the *Tsung Chou chung* 宗周鐘. Kuo Mo-jo (p. 107a) follows Wang Kuo-wei in reading 𦎫 as a variant for the character 敦 *t'ui* found in the *Shih-ching* (L Ch Cl IV, 2, p 623) in the phrase "(Wu) disposed of the troops of Shang," 敦商之旅.

[29] Kuo Mo-jo (104b) suggested, with respect to the expression 先行 that there must have been a rear-guard force, and interprets it to mean that the general led the vanguard. This apparently agrees with a similar phrase in the poem *Liu-yüeh* (L Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 283): "Ten large war chariots led the way in front" 元戎十乘以先啟行.

[30] Maspero (1927 C, p. 137) compares 𧻚丨子白 with the expression *huan-huan* 桓桓 in the phrase: "The martial King Wu" in the *Shih-ching* (L Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 607).

[31] Kuo Mo-jo (op. cit. p. 106b) identifies this person with Ngo-hou Yü-fang 噩侯馭方 and therefore reads *Pu-ch'i Yü-fang*, taking the first part as *tzu* and the second as *ming*. The name Ngo-hou Yü-fang is found on the *Ngo hou ting* 噩侯鼎 (Kuo Mo-jo, op. cit., p. 107a). The same reading is followed by Jung Keng (1958, p. 88). Yang Shu-ta (1959, p. 221), on the other hand, treats *Pu-ch'i* as a form of address and reads: "*Yü-fang Hsien-yün*. He reads *Yü* as *shuo* 朔 "northern", i.e. something like "the Hsien-yün from the northern lands". Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 283) follows Wang Kuo-wei in interpreting Yü-fang as "the country of the chariots". The Chinese are said to have called the northern barbarians thus because they were skilful chariot drivers. The Yü-fang are thought to be a branch of the Hsien-yün. Yü-fang occurs as the name of a people in some Shang inscriptions, too, in connection with the To-ma Ch'iang: "To give orders to the To-ma Ch'iang and the Yü-fang 多馬羌御方 (ibid.). Yü-fang is also found in the *I Chou shu* (ed. Szu pu pei-yao, ch. 4, p. 9b). In the present context it is almost impossible to decide whether Yü-fang is part of a personal name, or a way of referring to the Hsien-yün.

It would appear that the places mentioned in this inscription are also within the general geographical context delimited in our preceding remarks. As we have said (p. 76) the place Hsi-yü was certainly within Chou territory, as can be seen from the entry in the Erh-ya dictionary. Since it is there given in connection with Chiao-huo, it must also have been somewhere on the scene of the fighting with the Hsien-yün. Kuo Mo-jo (p. 106b) on the basis of Weng T'ung-shu (44) interpreted X as Lo (45), but put forward no arguments to support his hypothesis, so that it cannot be taken into consideration. Wang Kuo-wei (1923 A, p. 8a) believed that Kao-ling was the place referred to in the Han geography (*Han-shu*, ed. Wang Hsien ch'ien, chap. 28 A, p. 27a) as a place in Tso-feng i district (46). This place already existed in Ch'in times, so that it is very probable that it is indeed the place referred to in our inscription. It is the district which bears the same name today, on the northern bank of the Wei, in the centre of the presumed region of fighting against the Hsien-yün.

Of particular significance is the dedication of the vessel, given at the end of the inscription. The Kung-po (42) referred to was obviously Kung-po prince of Ch'in, who ruled 847-845; this is the view of Li Hsüeh-ch'in (1959, p. 47) and Ch'en Meng-chia (1956, p. 283), who says that the vessel is a product of the Ch'in domain. Pu-ch'i was clearly a descendant of Kung-po which explains why he was principally concerned in fighting going on in the western regions of Chou territory. The dedication also allows us to date the inscription more accurately; it cannot have referred to a campaign under King I (894—879), as Kuo Mo-jo suggests (Vol. 7, p. 104b), because Kung-po had not yet been born. A date in the second Hsüan period is the most readily acceptable from all points of view.

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[32] Kuo Mo-jo (106a) reads *kuang-fa* 廣伐 as does Jung Keng (1958, p. 88). Yang Shu-ta (1959 p. 221) reads *tang* 宕 a term which is used in the *Ku liang chuan*, Wen year p. 11 in the sense of "harass".

[33] It is debatable whether we should here read *yung* 永 "long", the reading accepted by Wu Ch'i-ch'ang (p. 1115), Kuo Mo-jo (p. 106a) and especially by Jung Keng (p. 88) or *yung* 用 as Yang Shu-ta does (p. 221). In the second eventuality we should have to translate the phrase as "that they might pursue you".

[34] All commentators read the character [illegible] as 陷 *hsien*, "to fall".

Having surveyed the facts to be gleaned from these documents, let us consider the arguments leading to our hypothesis that the Hsien-yün raids were parallel to the Cimmerian and Scythian invasions on the western borders of Euro-Asia, and that the same cause lay behind both sets of events, i.e. the rise of horse nomadism.

Our analysis has shown that the attack was concentrated on the heart of the Chou domains, and we have seen that the fighting was restricted to a fairly small arena lying between the lower reaches of the Ching and Lo rivers and the Wei valley, between the mouths of these two rivers. The direction the attacks are thus seen to have followed, between two more or less parallel rivers flowing north to south, and the frequent references to the need for fortification of the northern frontier, lead us to conclude that the attacks must have been initiated somewhere on the upper reaches of these two rivers, perhaps in the Ordos region.

Obviously this was not a state of permanent warfare between two neighbouring peoples, but a concentrated attack by one on the heart of the other, either in order to destroy that people utterly, or to loot the richest of their territories. Since the former cannot be entertained at this period, it is probable that the prime reason for the raids was loot. At certain periods the danger of these looting raids was probably permanent, and armies were sent to strengthen the defences on the northern frontier; the situation seems to have been similar to that in China at the end of the Warring States period, when raids were a permanent threat. This was an unusual state of affairs for ancient Chinese history, when a prolonged state of war was not yet a common phenomenon.

The most striking feature of the fighting, however, was its large scale. We have already commented that no other historical event was so markedly reflected in the sources, referred to in so many documents concerning a very short period of time. Although as we have seen it is not possible to set an exact date to the event referred to in the songs and inscriptions, there is no doubt that they all deal with a relatively short period in the reign of King Hsüan. It is clear that there was one concentrated attack, or perhaps several, but that this was not a historical situation of any duration.

Another indication of the scale of the fighting is the number of generals concerned in it. Altogether there are six or seven persons involved (we cannot say definitely whether the Lord Pai of the *Pu-ch'i kuei* inscription is the same person as Kuo Chi Tzu-pai of the inscription bearing that name); three of these, and one aide, are singled out for honour in the *Shih-ching* songs. On the other hand, if we pass over the songs in honour of the Duke of Chou and the Duke of Lu, there are only two other persons mentioned in Shih-ching who can be accepted as military leaders although their exploits in that direction are not made too clear. These are Sun Tzu-chung (47) (L Ch Cl IV, 1, p. 48) and Shen po (48) (L Ch Cl IV, 2, pp. 535ff.). The only real war song apart from those inspired by the fighting against the Hsien-yün celebrates the Nan-chung mentioned above, along with some others (L Ch Cl IV, 2, p. 555). It is obvious that the traditional heroic poetry of Ancient China was inspired almost entirely by the Hsien-yün battles. It should be noted that Nan-chung appears in the office of *szu-t'u* (49), who was in charge of mobilizing the common people, in an inscription translated by M. R. Petrucci (1916, p. 18).

The vast proportions of the struggle can be seen even more clearly from the numbers of the armies mobilized to fight the Hsien-yün. The song *Ts'ai ch'i*, in honour of the heroic deeds of Fang Shu (50), repeats three times over that he "led three thousand chariots". This is indeed an enormous number, for theoretically the royal army was made up of six forces, numbering 75.000 men and six hundred chariots (H. Maspero 1927 A, p. 88, Note 2). The number of chariots led by Fang Shu would thus be five times that mustered by the whole of the king's army. For comparison we can say that at the battle of Ch'eng-pu in 632 B.C. the Chin army, that of the most powerful northern state, had no more than 700 chariots (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 28, L Ch Cl V, 1, p. 204). This figures can be relied on, as it is confirmed elsewhere in the *Tso-chuan* (Ch'eng year 2, L Ch Cl V, 1, p. 339), where in addition we read that a certain general Chin was given 800 chariots for an expedition against the Ch'i in 589 B.C. Elsewhere in the *Tso-chuan* year 473 (Ai year 12, L Ch Cl V, 2, p. 812) it is stated that the Lu army can raise 800 chariots while the Chu (51) have only six hundred.

Even admitting that the figure given repeatedly in the poem is exaggerated in order to enhance the jubilant's glory, it cannot be quite fantastic, for the author of the poem would certainly not have wanted to create the impression that he was exaggerating to a ridiculous degree. It is worth nothing that all the songs celebrating the fighting against the Hsien-yün are written in very sober tones. Whatever the exact figure, we can assume that all the forces the Chou could raise were put in the field against the Hsien-yün.

The way the fighting is described suggests sudden attacks; this is particularly so in the song *Liu-yueh*, where the first verse evokes an atmosphere of emergency responding to a surprise attack: "In the sixth month all was bustle and excitement. The war carriages had been made ready . . . The Hsien-yün were in blazing force, and there was urgency. The king had ordered the expedition, to deliver the royal kingdom" (L Ch Cl IV 2, p. 281). This is the song that describes the attack on the Chou capital and the heart of the kingdom, an attack which must have been planned with considerable strategic ability, for it led across the River Wei.

The constant assaults by the Hsien-yün, allowing the defenders no rest, should also be noted. In the song *Ts'ai-wei* we read: "Shall we not daily be on our guard, the Hsien-yün are very harassing". A. Waley (1954, p. 123) translates this phrase outright as the "Hsien-yün are very swift". The author of the poem leaves us with the impression that he is reproducing the experience of fighting against nomads repeatedly made by the Persians, and later the experience of the Chinese in their struggles against the Huns. Particularly reminiscent of fighting against nomads is the description of the fighting given in the *Pu-ch'i kuei* inscription. Pu-ch'i seems to have pursued the Hsien-yün as far as X and then to have attacked them at Kao-ling; all at once "the Jung gathered together and pursued" him for a long way, and Pu-ch'i was lucky to avoid catastrophe. This looks like the usual nomad tactics of first fleeing before the enemy and then, when he has been drawn far enough away, turning on him from all sides and destroying him.

Sudden attack, ambush and pursuit of an army whose main strength lay in its chariots could only be undertaken by a mobile force either equipped with chariots, too, or — more probably — mounted on horseback; in no case could such a force rely on infantry. It is not impossible that the Hsien-yün had war chariots, in view of the phrase *yü-fang Hsien-yün*, which can also be read as "Hsien-yün, the country of army carts".

It is not very likely to have been so, however. As a rule only a very wealthy state could put a large force of chariots in the field, and nowhere round China, and even less on her northern borders, can we see any country so powerful as to be able to send such a large force of chariots against Chou as to menace the very centre of their dominions. Nor indeed would chariots be particularly suitable for fighting in difficult terrain, and particularly for fording rivers. All these considerations lead us rather to the conclusion that the attacks were made by mounted bands, resembling in their planned strategy, concentration and striking power the Scythian invasions in the west, that reached as far as the borders of Egypt.

This belief that the only force capable of bringing the Hsien-yün within striking distance of the heart of the Chou dominions was one of bands of nomad horsemen, is further strengthened by the fact that some 150 years later, in the very centre of Chou territory, in the region of Ch'i mountain (II 4), we find a group of people whose customs and way of life resembled that of the Scythians in the west.

The Ch'in chronicles for the fifteenth year of Duke Mu of Ch'in (645 B.C.) describe a battle he fought against the Duke of Chin on Han territory (52) (*Shih-chi*, ed. Ku Chieh-kang ch. 5, p. 8, Ch M H II, p. 32). The Duke of Chin was separated from his army when he went after the Ch'in, and as he was returning he got stuck in a bog. Duke Mu and the warriors fighting on his side set off in pursuit (53) but were not able to capture the Duke of Chin. Indeed Duke Mu found himself in great danger, and was wounded. "Suddenly three hundred men who had eaten a good horse at the foot of Ch'i mountain rode at the Chin army and broke through their encirclement" (54). They even took the Duke of Chin prisoner.

Here the chronicles give a strange story: "Earlier Duke Mu had lost an excellent horse.Three hundred savages from the foot of Ch'i mountain had caught the animal and eaten it. The officials caught them and wanted to punish them according to the law, but Duke Mu said: A good man does not harm other men on account of an animal. I have heard it said that anyone who eats a good horse without a drink of wine endangers his health. He made them all a present of wine and set them free. When these three hundred men heard that the Ch'in were attacking the Chin they all asked to be allowed to take part in the expedition. They joined the expedition and when they saw that Duke Mu was in difficulties they drew their spears and fought to the death in gratitude because they had been allowed to eat good horse-flesh". This is clearly the episode referred to by the passage in the Chin chronicles (*Shih-chi* Ch M H IV, pp. 278—279) which tells how the Duke of Chin rode out to meet Duke Mu of Ch'in in battle, "but the valiant warriors of Duke Mu attacked the Chin army and defeated it".

This same incident, with additional details, is given in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (ed. Szu pu ts'ung k'an, ch. 8, part 5, p. 9a; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 102). We read there that Duke Mu lost his right centre horse and the savages caught it. "The Duke saw that they were preparing to eat the animal on the southern slopes of Ch'i mountain. Duke Mu sighed: If you do not drink wine after eating the flesh of an excellent horse I am afraid it will do you harm. Then he gave them all wine and went away. A year later there was a battle in the Han plain. The Chin soldiers had surrounded the chariot of Duke Mu; Liang Yu-mi of Chin (55) caught hold of Duke Mu's left horse; Shih Fen (57), the right-hand companion of Duke Huei of Chin (56) in his chariot, rushed at Duke Mu and clave his armour six times. Over three hundred of the savages who had eaten horse flesh on the southern slopes of Ch'i mountain fought furiously round the chariot of Duke Mu until they were exhausted, dealt a crushing blow to the Chin, captured Duke Huei and took him back with them."

The terms used in the Ch'in chronicles would suggest that there were horsemen armed with spears fighting on the Ch'in side. There is nothing to contradict this in the *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* version that "the savages fought around the chariot of Duke Mu". We know that the Scythians, for instance, when they had broken their spears, jumped down from their horses and fought on foot. The whole style of the narrative excludes the possibility that these were infantry soldiers, however.

I do not think it necessary to pay too much attention to the description of the battle itself; it may have been written or improved upon at a time when fighting on horseback was already common in China, and the tradition itself may have been adapted to later experience.

Of greater significance for our purposes is the traditional story that Duke Mu, one of the greatest Ch'in heroes, owed his life to a band of "savages who had eaten a good horse on the southern slopes of Ch'i mountain". This formulation is repeated almost unchanged in the Ch'in chronicles and in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*. It is clear that the "savages" were bound by some obligation to Duke Mu, but the authors of neither text understood what it was. The *Lü-shih* version is content to tell of the wine they were given by the Duke who was sorry to see them endangering their health by eating good horse-flesh. The Ch'in chronicler adds that the "savages" were to be punished for stealing the horse, and that Duke Mu both set them free and gave them wine to drink. The reason given, to prevent the meat harming them, is out of place here, for a certain period of time must have passed before the barbarians were caught, condemned and then granted their freedom. Nor is there any suggestion of why the flesh of an excellent horse should be harmful.

We must clearly seek the explanation of the whole event elsewhere, in the sphere of venerable custom. Eating the Duke's horse and drinking his wine created a bond between him and them, whether the Duke was aware of it or not: they had become one fraternity, and therefore the savages followed him into battle and were ready to lay down their lives for him. Behind this episode enshrined in our sources lies the custom widespread among nomadic peoples like the Scythians, and the Hsiung-nu, of swearing brotherhood by drinking together wine in which the blood of a horse and of the men taking the pledge had been mingled. Herodotus (Cary 1908, IV 70, p. 259) gives this description of the ceremony: "Having poured wine into a large earthen vessel, they mingle with it blood taken from those who are entering into covenant, having struck with an awl or cut with a knife a small part of the body; then having dipped a scimetar, some arrows, a hatchet and a javelin in the vessel, when they have done this, they make many solemn prayers, and then both those who make the contract, and the most considerable of their attendants, drink up the mixture".

There is a detailed description of a similar ceremony among the Hsiung-nu in the *Han-shu* (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 94 B, p. 21a), when the Han emissaries Han Ch'ang and Chang Meng visited the Hsiung-nu Khan in 43 B.C. The purpose of their visit was to conclude a treaty of friendship, and the final ceremony is described thus: "Ch'ang and Meng, together with the *shan-yu* and high officials, climbed the eastern hill by the river No in Hsiung-nu territory (58), killed a white horse, and the *shan-yu* using a *ching-lu* knife (59) and a golden *liu-li* (60) (said to be a rice spoon) mixed the wine and then they drank the blood-oath together from the skull of the King of Yueh-chih, who had been defeated by the ancestor of the shan-yu and whose skull had been made into a goblet. Now they would be one family, and through all generations would not deceive or attack one another. If either side should be invaded the armies would rise and help one another. The first to break this oath, whether Han or Hsiung-nu, would be punished by the gods. Their sons and grandsons for all generations would be bound to keep this oath."

It is clear that our account and these two documents all describe the same custom, that of swearing fraternity in a ceremony using human blood, that of a horse, and wine. The curious thing is that in each of these descriptions something is missing; that of the Hsiung-nu ceremony says nothing of the participants cutting themselves and mixing their own blood with the wine, Herodotus makes no mention of a horse, horse-blood, or a mountain, while our account omits the blood of those taking the pledge. Each author seems to have stressed a different aspect of the ceremony and suppressed those facts he considered unimportant or undesirable — such as, for the Chinese, the habit of drinking their partners' blood when these happened to be barbarians.

Although the interpretation our authors lay upon this custom is the wrong one, it does include some extra details. The savages ate the horse on the *southern* slopes of the mountain Ch'i. We know that among the Massagets, for example, the horse was sacrificed to the sun (Minns 1913, p. 86), and it is probable that the sacrifice offered here on the southern slopes was charged to the care of the sun.

Nor is it without significance that in this account the whole band partook of the horse-flesh and the wine; we obviously see in action here the original men's group which was probably the basic social unit among the nomads. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the Chinese writer, unfamiliar with the rite, described the eating of the flesh instead of the drinking of the blood of the horse; the horse was probably eaten after the sacrifice, in any case.

In this connection we must consider whether the name of the knife, or rather the sabre *ching-lu*, used on this occasion, is not in fact a transcription of the Scythian name for a short sword — or rather of the Greek transcription of the Scythian name, *akinakes*. Although it is difficult to explain the *a* in the initial syllable, this etymology is not impossible. As far as I am aware, it was first suggested by Japanese authors in *Inner Mongolia 1937*, English resumé p. 7.

The word *ching-lu*, in the form *ching-lü* (61), appears in the *I Chou shu* (ed. *Szu pu pei-yao* ch. 36, *K'o Yin chiai* p. 2b). This is probably also the word transcribed in the *Shih-chi* (Ch M H I, p. 235) as *ching-chien* (62) "the sword called *ching*". F. Hirth (1908, p. 67) wanted to see in this word the Turkish *kingrak*, a "two-edged knife, a sabre", an etymology which B. Schindler (1933, p. 187, Note 8) considered uncertain, since *lü* or *lu* had no final explosive. In my opinion it is not impossible that behind all these words there is some ancient common ancestor, for all attempts to provide *akinakes* with an Iranian root have so far been unsatisfactory.

I believe that this analysis of the legend of Duke Mu being saved by a band of "savages" proves that as early as 645 B.C. there existed an obviously nomad custom right in the heart of ancient Chinese territory, in the south of what is now Shen-hsi. We also find an inalienable band of warriors, probably on horseback, strongly reminiscent of the Scythian bands, those bands of men which formed the backbone of the Scythian armies and entered the services of various courts in the Near East. Proof of the existence of Scythian bands and customs on Chinese territory at this period gives us the right to assume that such phenomena were far more frequent in the north, in the steppe belt along the Great Wall. From this we can conclude that as early as the seventh century conditions in the region were already ripe for the emergence of a nomad culture characterized by the Animal Style.

We can now ask where the Hsien-yün came from, since on the basis of what has been said they appear to be the first true horse nomads in Chinese history. It is practically certain that they could not have lived in the immediate vicinity of China, for it is very unlikely that such a powerful tribe would appear in Chinese sources for such a short period only, with no mention of them either before or after this period. This is a most unusual phenomenon, even taking into account the relative scarcity of sources of so old a date. We must therefore conclude that the Hsien-yün invaded China suddenly and from a considerable distance away, just as various raiding tribes made short and sporadic appearances in European history. There are of course immediate obstacles when we try to determine even approximately the direction from which they came. The two possibilities which spring to mind are that they came from the north-east, from the northern region of what is now the Mongolian People's Republic; this was often the source of trouble on the Chinese frontier in later centuries. Or they may have come from the north-west, from the region along the Great Wall in the direction of the Altai range. The few archaeological finds made in northern Mongolia do not create the impression that a power capable of threatening the very heart of China at this early date could have arisen there. On the other hand, all we know of the Altai region seems to force upon our minds the idea that the centre of nomad expansion lay somewhere there. We have already shown that the region of conflicts between the sheep-rearing people of the Karasuk culture and the newly arisen horse-nomads breaking away from the old Andronovo culture must be sought in the Karasuk centres in the Altai region. It was there in the Altai that the relics of the Maiemiric culture were discovered, the first which can be truly called a horse-nomad culture, and which must have been formed in constant fighting. We must also remember that the spread of nomad culture in the eastern regions was accompanied by a new influx of Indo-European elements, as can be seen in the anthropological material from the Minusinsk basin. And finally in this connection we must bear in mind the legend of a centre of unrest somewhere in the Altai range, which according to Herodotus provoked the vast earthquake of peoples which brought the Scythians to the southern Russian plains. However fantastic the legend of the powerful Arimaspians may be, taken over by Herodotus from Aristeas of Proconnesus (IV, 13, Cary 1908, p. 242), we cannot deny the grain of truth in it. It was probably the reflection of a tradition living on in the steppes, that somewhere in the Altai there were powerful warrior tribes which had played the major part in the redistribution of territories in the steppe belt in the times of early nomadism.

We have no reason to reject entirely the hypothesis that some part of these tribes either attacked China themselves, or at least touched off the avalanche which so gravely threatened the Chou empire. Although we cannot accept the over-simplified suggestion of Tamara T. Rice (1957, p. 43), who believes that the emperor Hsüan drove back the Scythian invaders, who then turned westward, we have grounds for the assumption that the tribes who so troubled the Chou kingdom bore some relationship to the western Scythians. There are the heavy cast helmets found both in Ordos and the Scythian regions, as we have already seen; and the bronze kettles with vertical handles found in Southern Russian graves of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The latter are widespread throughout the eastern steppes and have definite connections with Chinese bronze-working technique. There is support for this view, too, in the convex mirrors with a central loop, and we should also quote here the pole-tops found both in Ordos and the west. There are striking resemblances between Chinese and Scythian art in certain motifs, as T. G. Frisch pointed out. He found (1949, p. 19) that "not only conventions in the manner of representation, but also certain fantastic animal types and art motifs had their counterpart in early Chinese art". He concluded that An-yang "sacrificial vessels and weapons furnished evidence of the same genetic conventions in the representation of animals as those used in Scythian art". Of particular interest is this author's conclusion (p. 20) that these common features are completely assimilated in Chinese art, while in Scythian art they remained alien elements. Nevertheless compared with the degree of assimilation attained later by Assyrian and Greek motifs, the Chinese elements were more thoroughly assimilated. In fact "the assimilation of foreign elements was more thorough at the beginning than at the end of the existence of Scythian art". Frisch studied such elements of Scythian art as the bird-head, long- and short-snouted animal head, the deer, ibex and ram's head, the curled-up animal, etc . . . He is particularly interesting on the subject of the Scythian double-headed animal joined at the jaw, in which he sees a parallel to the Chinese *t'ao-t'ieh* masks, adding that in this instance "Scythian art follows literally the Chinese art concept" (p. 62). The author concludes his subtle and attentive analysis of parallels between Scythian and Chinese art by saying that analysis "of certain specifically Scythian early beast types, stylistic conventions and art motifs has provided evidence of close analogy with beast types, stylistic conventions and art motifs in Chinese art of the Shang-Yin and early Chou period" (p. 65). He then adds that "at the present state of archaeology there exists no link to join the two civilisations so far apart in time and space . . .".

We are of the opinion that one such link is the Karasuk culture and it is not impossible that some elements of Chinese art were carried westwards by raiders of the Hsien-yün type. This would be even more valid if it were proved that the first expansion of the nomads towards the east was carried out by members of an Indo-European race. This possibility was first suggested by K. Jettmar (1951, p. 156).

We could add to these relationships between cultural elements in the east and the west of the steppe belt the close affinity between the Scythian *akinakes* and the daggers of Ordos (cf. M. Loehr 1948, p. 142). We could also draw attention to the whole equipment of the Scythian warrior, his composite bow, the axe and the short sword, which recall the weapons of the Chinese warrior; then there are also customs they have in common, the hunt for war trophies, ears in the case of the Chinese and scalps for the Scythians. In both regions we find a wealth of funeral furniture, guides and horses for the Scythians, guides and horse-drawn war chariots for the Chinese. Further archaeological material will probably help to multiply the numbers of these elements common to the whole of the steppe belt of Euro-Asia.

The Ti migrations

XVI

We must assume that the terrible attack by the Hsien-yün on the heart of Chou territory was a considerable factor in the disintegration of the old cultures in Shen-hsi and that it added to the chaos which can be traced back to reigns earlier than that of King Hsüan; it speeded up the final decline of Chou power in the Wei basin. If we are correct in believing that the Hsien-yün invasion reflected vast revolutionary changes in the steppes and the change-over from pastoralism to horse-nomadism, we must expect this invasion to be more than an isolated phenomenon. A new distribution of the steppelands, accompanied by incessant warfare as in other parts of Eurasia, must have occurred in the border-regions of China as well. We could expect to find a reflection in the Chinese chronicles of the sort of thing that happened in the Bolšaja Rečka region, and that can be learned of in the literature of Asia Minor and later of Greece.

And indeed it is clear from the Chinese sources that the Hsien-yün invasion was followed by a number of barbarian incursions into the belt of Chinese petty states in the present province of Shan-hsi and the surrounding territories; they began soon after the Hsien-yün attack on Chou. In this connection it should be remembered that our sources are extremely sketchy for the whole of the eighth and a considerable part of the seventh centuries, down to the year 722 B.C., the opening date of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* chronicle and its detailed commentary, *Tso-chuan*. Before this date we are really dealing with no more than fragments of the Annals of the Bamboo Books, *Chu-shu chi-nien*, reconstructed with difficulty from scattered quotations. Nevertheless even these scanty sources reveal one peculiar feature of these raids: the almost identical mechanism of their progress. Their dynamics may best be likened to the movement of a billiard ball propelled against he side of the table, rebounding aend striking the opposite side, from where it rebounds once more and rolls to wards the side between the two. This indicates a certain mechanical character, instinctive movement probably predominating over planned pursuance of goals in these migrations.

The first series of attacks were those by the Pei Jung (1), the Northern Barbarians. Shortly after the Hsien-yün invasion, the Pei Jung attacked the state of Chin on the lower reaches of the Fen, in Shan-hsi, in the year 794 B.C. Defeated, they flung their forces at the state of Hsing (III 1), on the opposite side of Shan-hsi, in what is now Ho-pei, at the foot of the T'ai-hang Mountains. There, too, they were defeated in 769, after which they seem to have moved south. (Both these defeats are recorded in the *Hou Han-shu*, ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien ch. 87, p. 3a, and the information seems to have come from the *Chu-shu chi-nien*.)

The Pei Jung then attacked the Cheng in 714 and the Ch'i in 706 (*Tso-chuan*, Yin year 12, L Ch Cl, V, p. 27, and *Tso-chuan*, Huan year 6, L Ch Cl V, p. 47). These invasions struck terror into Eastern China. The barbarians did not fight in the Chinese manner, with chariots, but on foot, wearing breastplates of leather. The powerful state of Ch'i, which gained the hegemony over the Chinese petty states a quarter of a century later, now called for help against the Pei-jung, turning to the Cheng, Lu and perhaps other states as well, judging from what the *Tso-chuan* has to say about the sharing out of booty (Huan year 10, p. 54). Yet in a battle which the *Tso-chuan* (L Ch Cl V, p. 47) called "a great defeat" only two chiefs were taken and three hundred men beheaded. During these incursions it is already possible to see what later, during the Ti invasion, became decisive: that the petty states in the east were unfamiliar with fighting against the barbarians, and succumbed to the latter's tactics far more readily than did states with long experience against the barbarians, like the Chin and Ch'in.

The invasion of Ch'i is also recorded in the chronological tables of the ***Shih-chi*** (ed. Ku Chieh-kang, ch. 14, p. 35) under the 25th year of King Li (2), i.e. 706 B.C.: "Shan Jung attacked us". This is significant evidence that even in ancient times the Pei Jung, Northern Barbarians, were identified with the Shan Jung, Mountain Barbarians. We shall only hear of these Northern barbarians once more in the year 650, when the Duke of Ch'i led an expedition against them, accompanied by the baron Hsü (3) (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 10, L Ch Cl, p. 155). Their descendants, however, may have been the Jung of Ts'ao-chung (4) we later hear of living with the Ti of Li-t'u (5) on the road from the Fen valley to the Yellow River.

Even the sporadic reports in the sources reveal constant pressure by barbarians from the north-west on the Chinese petty states. The Ti seem to have started moving, after the Pei Jung.

As early as the forty-second year of King P'ing, the successor to King Yu, in 729 B.C., the Annals of the Bamboo Books (*Ku-pen*, ed. Wang Kuo-wei, p. 11, and ed. Fan Hsiang-yung p. 36) record a Ti invasion of Chin. It seems to have been a fairly powerful one: "The Ti suddenly attacked the I (6) and reached the Chin borders." At that time the Chin capital I lay in what is now I-ch'eng district, on the left bank of the river Fen. The Ti probably came from the west, passed right through Chin and reached the eastern Chin frontier.

The successful invasion of Chin by the Ti may have been facilitated by the internal troubles which broke out in that state. The younger branch of the ruling house, possessed of important territory round Ch'ü-wu (7) in what is now Wen-hsi district, had grown strong at the expense of the ruling princes, and attempted to overthrow them. The struggle went on for several generations, and reduced Chin to a state of powerlessness.

The attacks of the Ti seem to have been more purposeful than those of the Pei Jung before them. The former look as though they were meant to secure new territory, or at least new bases for raids. There are reasons to suppose that this was true of the invasion we are now dealing with, too.

In the year 660 B.C. the Chin sent an expedition against a Ti tribe called the

Kao-lo of Tung-shan (8) (*Tso-chuan*, Min year 2, Ch Cl V, pp. 127 ff.). In the commentaries (but not in the sources) the Kao-lo tribe is assumed to belong to the Red Ti, which would lead us to believe that they had arrived in this region along with the invading stream which a year earlier had destroyed the Hsing state (III 1) to the north. This cannot really have been the case, however, for in the year 660 the Ti, moving from the north, had only reached the state of Wei (III 2), much further east. We must also assume that the Kao-lo had been settled in the area for a long time before 660 B.C., the year when they were subjugated. If this were not so they would not have left such a mark on the local names; the town of Kao-lo-ch'eng, in the southern part of Chiang district (9) is still called after them. They would thus appear to have been in the region by 729 B.C. if not earlier, for after 660 we hear no more of them.[35]

After several decades of fighting things settled down in Chin, and once unified, the country was able to resist Ti invasions across its territory; indeed the Chin began to act aggressively towards the Ti. After a long struggle the lords of Ch'ü-wu were victorious. In 678 B.C. Wu of Ch'ü-wu assassinated the last prince of Chin, and the Chou king recognised him as prince of Chin. Under his son Hsien (675–651) the age of Chin glory began. Hsien began to extend his territory at the expense of his neighbours, and among others destroyed the state of Huo (IV 24), Wei (VII 5) and Keng (31). According to the *Tso-chuan* (Min year 1, Ch Cl, p. 123) this took place in the year 661 B.C. Since the *Tso-chuan* divides the romance

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[35] There are certain difficulties when it comes to locating the Kao-lo tribe, for there are three different theories on the subject. In the commentary to the *Shih-chi* (ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng* ch. 39, p. 16), *Cheng-i* quotes the *Shang-tang-chi* (10) to the effect that the Kao-lo tribe lived in *Lu-chou* (11). 15 *li* south-east of Hu-kang hsien (12). The locality is said to have been called P'ing kao ch'ih-jang (13) and to be unusually mountainous, so that there were no peasants there; it was a desolate region. Tung-shan was said to be to the south-east of Hu-kuan ch'eng (14). The town of Hu-kuan lies in the south-east part of Ch'ang-chih district (15), south of Lu-ch'eng (16), which means the south-east corner of Shan-hsi, south-east of the later centre of the Red Ti.

The second view is based on the *K'ao-cheng*, where it is said that in Lo-p'ing district (17), of the prefecture of P'ing ting (18) in Shan-hsi, there is a place called Kao-lo-shan which according to the *Huan yü chi* (19) was where the Kao-lo tribe lived.

Lo-p'ing district is thirty *li* south-east of the present district of Hsi-yang (20), which is almost on the eastern borders of Shan-hsi. This is the view accepted by Chavannes, who made it more precise (Ch M H IV, p. 261, Note 4), saying that the Kao-lo lived seventy *li* east of Lo-p'ing hsien in the prefecture of T'ai-yüan. Since the town of Lo-p'ing is practically due east of T'ai-yüan, with a slight deviation to the south, this would mean that the Kao-lo lived right on the border between Shan-hsi and Ho-pei.

Both these theories are reproduced by Meng Wen-t'ung in his article (1937, p. 70), without any attempt to decide between them. In his view the most significant thing is that both places lie to the east of Chin. (To be more precise, the second alternative is NNE of the centre of Chin at that time).

Against these two theories there must be set the no less ancient and popular tradition that the Kao-lo lived in Yüan-ch'ü district (21) in the southern part of Shan-hsi. This is the localization given by the *Shui-ching-chu* (ed. Szu-pu pei-yao), which came into being in the Three Kingdoms period; the commentary dates from the Second Wei period, the first half of the sixth century

A. D. The *Shui-ching-chu* tells us (ch. 4, p. 21a) that "the Ch'ing shui (22) rises near the Western Peak in Ch'ing-lien mountains (23)" and goes on to describe its course through the mountains: "the river Ch'ing . . . passes by the town of Kao-lo on the north. Fu Ch'ien (24) says: "This is the capital of the Red Ti. It is generally known as I-po-ch'eng (25). This is the place of which it is said in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and the *Tso-ch'uan* that the Duke of Chin sent Prince Sheng-sheng to attack the Kao-lo tribe from Tung-shan".

This same localization is given in the *Yüan-ho chün-hsien chih* (ch. 7, p. 8b): "Kao-lo ch'eng lies 60 *li* to the north-west of the district town of Yüan (26). This is the place . . ." and the text repeats the story we have just given.

The *Ta Ch'ing i-t'ung-chih* (ch. 118, p. 5a) also refers to this information, in the section devoted to Chiang-chou (9). Kao-lo-ch'eng is there said to lie 50 *li* north-west of Yüan-ch'ü-hsien (21) and to be known now as Kao-lo pao (27). The chronicle quotes the geographical chapter of the *Chin-shih* (28) in which Kao-lo chen (29) is said to exist in Yüan-ch'ü, but the author adds that there is also a Kao-lo in Lo-p'ing hsien, so that it is impossible to come to an exact answer. The quotation from the *Shui-ching-chu* is repeated once more in the section on rivers.

The Geographical Dictionary first repeats the information given by the *Ta Ch'ing i-tung chih*, and then adds that seventy *li* east of Hsi-yang hsien (20) there is also a Kao-lo-shan, also known as Lo-p'ing shan. It goes on to quote the *Huan-yü chi* (19) as well.

Haloun (1924, pp. 606—607) also accepts the Yüan-ch'ü-hsien theory, without discussing the alternative suggestions.

The town of Kao-lo lies directly north of Yüan-ch'ü hsien on the map, the latter being south of the hills and already on the Yellow River.

Of the three localities put forward only the last seems to me correct. The objection raised by Meng Wen-t'ung that this third Kao-lo lies in the south and not in the east is not entirely justified, for from the point of view of the people of Chin, gathered round the lower Fen valley, and particularly from the point of view of the capital of Chin at that time, Chiang (since 669; see Ch M H IV, p. 249, Note 1; Chiang lay north of the present Chiang chou), Kao-lo ch'eng lay to the south-east, so that the attribute "of the Eastern mountains" was quite apt — and in any case, very vague.

The main point is, however, that the first two proposals do not fit the historical context. Lo-p'ing lies far to the east of T'ai-yüan, and as we show later it was not until 541 B.C. that Chin gained control of the T'ai-yüan region and not until after that could they begin to clear the routes from here to the Great Plain.

The second suggestion, Hu-kuan, lies in the heart of Red Ti territory; the Chin armies did not get so far until 594, when the Red Ti were already much weakened and their armies defeated. In the year 660, as we shall see, the wave of Red Ti pouring towards the east probably reached its greatest momentum and became a threat to all the Chinese states at the foot of the T'ai-hang mountains. There can have been nobody bold enough to contemplate an expedition right into the heart of their territory. Probably immediately after this date the Red Ti settled down there, and it is highly improbable that Chin power stretched so far, otherwise the Ti could not have solidified their position there.

If we consider the range of expansion of Chin power under Duke Hsien we see that an expedition into eastern Shan-hsi would have been quite outside his scope. The petty states of Wei (VII 5) (in Chieh-hsien (30) in Shan-hsi), Keng (31) (in Ho-chin-hsien (32) in Shan-hsi), Chi (33) in the same region, Yü (34) in P'ing-lu hsien (35) and Kuo (36) in the same region, all of which were annexed by Chin under Duke Hsien, all lie in the region of the junction of the Fen, Wei and Huang-ho, which means in the same area as Kao-lo-ch'eng. In the north the furthest limit of Duke Hsien's expansion seems to have been the conquest of the petty state of Huo (IV 24), whose capital lay 16 *li* south-west of the present Huo-hsien, i.e. on the northernmost edge of the Fen valley and far enough away from the T'ai-yüan basin. This survey of how far Duke Hsien's campaigns took him makes it quite clear that he could not have intervened in the far-off regions of north-east and eastern Shan-hsi.

3436

of Hsien's son prince Ch'ung-erh in a purely mechanical fashion, to fit the years of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, and since the author of the romance distorted all that Prince Hsien did in order to prove the treachery of his concubine Li Chi (37), this chronology has no real value at all (cf. H. Maspero 1927, pp. 316ff.).

Hsien acted aggressively not only against the Chinese petty states but against the Ti as well. We read in a fragment of the romance of Ch'ung-erh preserved in the *Kuo-yü* (ed. Wei chieh, ch. 7 pp. 142ff.) that Hsien led an expedition against the Ti-cha (39). The whole account is strongly coloured by romance and even the name of the tribe is curious. Prince Hsien is said to have observed an ominous mist hanging over the land of Ti-cha, whose Prince was said to use everything to his own advantage, and whose officials were always quarrelling. Hsien captured the tribe's capital and their country was annexed by Chin. We do not know where this tribe lived; it may have been between the Fen and the Yellow River, west of Chin.

Hsien seems to have extended the Chin power considerably in this direction, and he probably ruled over the rolling hilly country rising from the Fen, as far as the Yellow River. The forts of Erh-ch'ü (VII 61) and P'u (VII 63) were built on this newly acquired territory (see above, p. 56).

In the year 661 B.C. the king charged his sons with the maintenance of these fortresses that they might serve not only to protect the country from without, but as a bastion against the discontented at home as well, "that the people may go in fear", as the *Tso-chuan* put it (Chuang year 28, L Ch Cl V, p. 113). As usual, the date is not reliably ascertained. The *Tso-chuan* speaks of the year 666 as that in which the fortresses were entrusted to the king's sons (Chuang year 28, p. 113), but on p. 123 the successor to the throne is said to have been given Ch'ü-wu after the expedition against the Keng, Huo and Wei statelets in 661 (Min year 1). The latter is the more logical proposition, but in any case, as I have already said, the chronology as a whole is practically worthless.[36]

Hsien also used marriage to strengthen his position, and three of his five wives were of barbarian stock.

Probably the Ti tribes mentioned above, the Kao-lo of Tung-shan, were attacked in the course of the whole series of campaigns undertaken by Duke Hsien. Prince Sheng-sheng, his eldest son, was entrusted with this campaign. The tradition of the romance, which colours the account of everything that happened in Chin at this time, puts the nomination of Sheng-sheng as the result of Li Chi's intrigues, but in fact logic argues against this interpretation. The government of the former capital Ch'ü-wu was entrusted to Sheng-sheng in the year 661 B.C. (*Tso-chuan*, Min year 1, L Ch Cl p. 123), obviously as a reward for his services in his father's campaigns, since his name comes in a list of such rewards given to other successful commanders. It is not impossible that the nomination of Sheng-sheng also arose from urgent political motives. In the year 661, according to the *Tso-chuan*, Duke Hsien *fortified* the town of Ch'ü-wu for his crown prince, and in the winter of the following year, 660, Sheng-sheng was sent against the Kao-lo. The *Kuo-yü* (ed. Wei Chieh, ch. 7, p. 149) says explicitly that this occurred in the winter of the 17th year, which was 660 B.C. The same date is found in the chronological tables, *Shih-chi* (ch. 14, ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 51). The fact that it was winter and the time inappropriate is also hinted at by speakers in the *Tso-chuan* p. 127. We may thus be allowed to assume some menace, perhaps the danger of a Kao-lo raid, or an attack at the same time by the Ti on the states in the Great Plain, as the reason for this fortification of the capital and the sudden campaign against the Kao-lo.

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[36] The uncertainty surrounding the dates of Duke Hsien's campaigns is particularly noticeable when we come to his acquisition of the concubine Li Chi (37), who played such a fateful role in the history of the period. The chronological tables of the *Shih-chi* (ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 47) place this event in the fifth year of Duke Hsien, which was 672 B.C.. In the *Tso-chuan* (L Ch Cl V, p. 113) it is referred to in the twenty-eighth year of Chuang, or 664, where we learn that Hsien attacked the Li Jung, whereupon the count of Li Jung married him to Li Chi. The Li Jung are usually said to live in Lin Tung district (38) in Shen-hsi, where the Li mountain stands. This is a good distance away from the Chin sphere of influence, and it is therefore not impossible that the *Ku-liang-chuan* (Hsi year 10) is nearer the truth, saying that Hsien acquired Li Chi on his expedition against Kuo (36). It would be very difficult, however, to say which expedition against the Kuo was referred to, since the one mentioned in the *Tso-chuan* (Ch Ch VI, p. 135, Hsi year 2), in 658, is improbably late. The most likely date is that given in the chronological tables, since they are least influenced by elements of romance.

On the other hand it is likely that the appointment of Prince Sheng-sheng to Ch'ü-wu increased the bad feeling between father and son. The prince found himself among people who were indignant at Duke Hsien for having moved his capital elsewhere. Probably the memory of Hsien's coming to power, when he assassinated his own relatives, had not died out among them either. They must have had a strong faction in the town from which the family had originally come. In the *Tso-chuan*, p. 128, the discontented reproached Duke Hsien that "the favourite of the harem (has been) made equal to the queen; the favourites of the court have been made equal to the ministers of the government; the son of a concubine made equal to the legitimate son; and another great city made equal to the capital". These nobles in Sheng-cheng's entourage will have had little appetite for battle, either. At any rate, the *Tso-chuan* (p. 127) records the words of nobles who tried to deflect the heir to the throne from his proposed campaign.

The only thing we can be certain of, is that the campaign was a success. The Ti came to meet the Chin army at the very edge of the Fen valley and were defeated at the battle of Chi-sang (40), perhaps in the present district of Ch'i-shan (41) (*Kuo-yü* ed. Wei Chieh, ch. 7, pp. 150—151, ch. 8, p. 152). The connexion is suggested by the name Chi appearing both in the name Chi-sang and in the name of the mountain Chi in this district. Their country was then subdued and the prince returned home in triumph (*Kuo-yü*). The success seems to have been a lasting one; at any rate in 621 B.C. there is a reference to the town of P'i (42), south of the town of Kao-lo, as being held by the Chin (*Tso-chuan*, Wen year 6, p. 243). According to the Geographical Dictionary P'i lies 120 *li* west of Chi-yüan district (43) in Honan.

Ti migrations to the east

XVII

Duke Hsien, ruling with an iron hand, transformed Chin into a powerful military machine and probably put a firm barrier in the way of Ti invasions of the Fen valley and the territory further east. He could not however, bring to a standstill a migration which must have been one of the largest in scale that ancient China ever experienced, reminding us of the somewhat later European "migration of the peoples". The Ti migrations wrought considerable changes in the map of Shan-hsi and created the picture we are familiar with from the traditional maps reproduced for example by Legge and Maspero.

When the Ti found their way to the Fen valley blocked, they probably turned north-east and making a bold flanking movement, reached the region of eastern Shan-hsi and Ho-pei. The only way to form an idea of their movements, of course, is by reconstructing them from the general situation.

The T'ai-yüan basin was probably inhabited by those barbarian tribes known to the Chinese as the Northern Barbarians, the Pei Jung, or the Mountain Barbarians, the Shan Jung. As we have seen, the two are often identified in the Chinese sources. These barbarians from the T'ai-yüan basin were also known as the Wu-chung (1), and the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and the *Tso-chuan* both tell of their great defeat at the hands of the Chin in the year 541 B.C. (Chao year 1, p. 568 and p. 572). There can be no doubt about where this defeat took place; The *Ch'un-ch'iu* speaks of Ta-lu (2), but the *Tso-chuan* names T'ai-yüan and the *Ku-liang-chuan* says explicitly that Ta-lu is the barbarians' name for T'ai-yüan. On the other hand the name Wu-chung survived from Han to Sui times in the name of Wu-chung district, which is now the Chi (3) district of the capital, Peking (see *Ta Ch'ing* 1897, ch. 4, p. 7b). In the northern part of the district there is a hill called Wu-chung. The Wu-chung district came into being under the Ch'in, and in Han times the tradition was already current that it had been the land of Prince Wu-chung. The geographical chapter in the *Han-shu* (*Han-shu*, ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 28B, p. 27 a, Yu-pei-p'ing chün (4), Wu-chung district) calls it "the ancient land of the Prince of Wu-chung". The commentary on this passage then reproduces a long and on the whole inconclusive argument about how to reconcile the two contradictory references to the home of the Wu-chung. There seems never to have been any doubt that the Wu-chung lived where Peking now stands. Thus *Cheng-i* in the commentary on the history of the state of Yen (*Shih-chi* ch. 34, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng*, p. 7) quotes Tu Yü (5): "The Shan Jung are the Northern Ti, it is the name of the land of the Wu-chung"; *Kua ti chih* (VII 12) states: "The Yü-yang district (6) (this was the name of Wu-chung district from

Sui times) in the prefecture of Yu (7) was originally the territory of the Wu-chung (of the tribe) Pei Jung. Later the Northern Jung were exterminated by the Chin".

We have no reason to doubt solid justitification for both the traditions, placing the Wu-chung in T'ai-yüan and in the Chi district of Peking, respectively. It is nevertheless obvious that one and the same people could not live from the outset in two places so far apart and separated from each other by masses of other peoples. Either one of the names is wrong, or else one of the places was secondary to the other.

And in fact we find that the Chi discriet had not always been inhabited by the Wuchung. According to the *Shih-chi* (ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng, ch. 4, p. 31) King Wu of Chou appointed the descendants of Emperor Yao (8) to Chi (cf. Ch M H I, p. 239). In this connection the *Shih-chi* comments that King Wu appointed Shih (9), the Duke of Shao (10), to Yen (Ch M H IV, p. 133), and the commentary places this Yen in Chi-chou (*Shih-chi* ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng, p. 32). Yen was apparently the name of a mountain sixty *li* south-east of Yu-yang district (that is, Wu-chung). On the north-west of the town of Chi was a hill named Chi, from which the town had taken its name. The commentary records that Chi was small and Yen prosperous, and that therefore the latter engulfed Chi.

I feel that these contradictions can be explained if we refer to the Chinese sources, which as we have already seen (pp. 136—7) identified the Wu-chung with the Shan Jung and the Pei Jung. In 664 the Shan Jung attacked the powerful state of Yen (see above, pp. 35 and 51), which covered the whole north-western area of Ho-pei (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Chuang year 30, L Ch Cl V, p. 117, Ch M H IV, pp. 51 and 136). This was three years before the general attack of the Ti on the eastern states.

If the Ti originally lived west of the river Fen, their only route to the east after the Chin had become too powerful was across the T'ai-yuan basin. This offers us a probable clue to the interpretation of the whole situation. We may presume that the Ti penetrated into this basin, creating pressure there which resulted in the migration of some of the population further east. Some remained where they were, and these were the Wu-chung we hear of in 541 B.C., while those who migrated were the Shan Jung who attacked Yen in 664 B.C. The only route north-east from the T'ai-yuan led to this, the most northerly of the Chinese states. Devastated by hordes of barbarians, Yen called on Duke Huan of Ch'i for help. In the winter of 664—663 the Duke of Ch'i took counsel with the Duke of Lu to find ways and means of dealing with the raiders. The Ch'i armies, probably helped by some soldiers from Lu, pressed the barbarians to the north, probably as far as the frontier hills. There they sought a new home and left their name behind them for centuries. In the chronological tables of the *Shih-chi* (ed. Ku Chieh-kang, ch. 14, p. 49), in the twenty-third year of Duke Huan of Ch'i, i.e. 663 B.C., we read that he "attacked the Shan Jung on account of Yen".

Later accounts make this campaign against the Shan Jung into a major affair. According to the *Kuo-yü* (ch. 6, *Ch'i-yü*, ed. Wei chich, p. 130), during his campaigning against the Shan Jung Duke Huan "cut off the head of the Prince of Ling-chih (11) (the *Shih-chi*, Ch M H IV, p. 56, Note 2, gives this as (12)), attacked Ku-chu (13) and returned to the south". None of the dukes from the sea coast dared to refuse to pay his respects. In Han times Ling-chih was already a district; the old town lay to the west of what is now Ch'ien-an district (14). Ku-chu is located in the region between Lu-lung (15) in Ho-pei and Chao-yang (16) in Jehol. (Chien-an and Lu-lung lie fairly close on 40°N, while Ch'ao-yang lies north-east of both.) G. Haloun (1926, pp. 40ff) analysed in detail the various traditions concerning Duke Huan's campaigns.

There is no trace of a major campaign in either the *Ch'un-ch'iu* or the *Tso-chuan*; the former merely says that "men from Ch'i attacked the Shan Jung (Chuang year 30, p. 117), which looks as though Duke Huan was not there in person at all. The expedition was probably soon over, for in the sixth month of the year 663 B.C. Duke Huan went to Lu to deliver a share of the loot (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Chuang year 31, Ch Cl V, p. 118). From this we assume that the Lu took part in the campaign, although there is no direct evidence of this.

The invasion of Yen by the Shan Jung gives the impression of a sudden incursion by barbarians who then settled on the land they had overrun. This applies even more to the appearance of the Ti in these parts, following close on the Shan Jung. The Ti seem to have settled in those regions of the Great Plain where we later find the Hsien-yü (II 24), Fei (17) and Ku (II 50) settlements; the Ti probably took possession of a large part of Yen territory and it is possible that the second Yen capital, I (18) fell into their hands at this time. This can be deduced from a reconstruction based on later accounts. Shortly after the last Ti tribe in the region was subjugated, the victorious state of Chao handed over to the state of Yen the town of I, in 291 B.C. (Ch M H V, p. 95). From the geographical position we may conclude that Chao must have taken this town from the Chung-shan, but a passage of the ***Shih-pen*** has survived according to which Duke Huan of Yen (697 – 691) moved his seat to I (*Shih-chi* ch. 34, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng*, p. 6). He probably moved there from the Chi mentioned earlier. I then became the Yen capital, but fell subsequently into the hands of the Ti at least for a time.

It is an interesting point that during the Ti invasion Yen is not mentioned at all. The catastrophes in Hsing and then Wei must have monopolized attention; Yen was too far away.

The Ti probably conquered most of the T'ai-yüan plain, which they must have passed through on their way to northern Ho-pei. Some fifteen years later, at any rate, the Western Ti were fighting a tribe of Red Ti, the Ch'iang-kao-ju (19), and the only point at which they could have come into contact was the T'ai-üan basin (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 24, Ch Cl V, p. 184).

While one stream of Ti overran the northern part of the Great Plain, another came down the terraces of Shan-hsi and fell on the states lying in the foothills; the first victim was the state of Hsing (III 1).

It is probable that this was a single event, and that various streams of Ti overran all these areas; differentiation between the tribes probably came later, when the

Ti had definitely settled in their newly acquired territory. This we can deduce from the fact that the Red Ti were later to be found in the former territory of Hsing, while later tradition, at least, connected the fall of Hsing with Chung-shan, the most important tribe of the Northern Ti. In the *Lu-shih Ch'un-ch'iu* (ed. Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an ch. 8, p. 6b) we read: "When the Chung-shan destroyed the state of Hsing and the Ti destroyed Wei (III 2), Duke Huan moved the Hsing to I-i (20) and the Wei to Ch'u-ch'iu (21) (cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 98). Later the Chia tribe (22), who belonged to the Red Ti, inhabited Hsing territory.

The state of Hsing lay in the Ho-pei plain at the foot of T'ai-hang-shan, directly east of the southern tip of the T'ai-yüan basin. The capital was in Hsing-t'ai district (23) just below the last terrace of T'ai-hang-shan.

It was in the winter of 662 that the Ti attacked Hsing (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Chuang year 32, Ch Clr V, p. 119), and the latter asked Duke Huan for help again. Ch'i was the protecto of the eastern statelets during this time, and a league was formed round Ch'i, members of which were the states Wei, Lu, Sung, and a number of lesser ones, and for a time also Cheng. The menace from the north roused a certain feeling of national unity and a sense of being different from the barbarians. The *Tso-chuan* (Min year 1, Ch Cl V, p. 123) puts these words into the mouth of Kuan Chung (24), Duke Huan's First Minister: "The Jung and the Ti are wolves who must not be given in to. All the Hsia are related and none of them should be left in the lurch. Frivolous dalliance is a poison we should not allow ourselves get accustomed to . . . . States should feel sympathy for the troubles of the others".

Military detachments from Ch'i were sent to the help of Hsing at the very beginning of the year 661 B.C. (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Min year 1, Ch Cl V, p. 123). There was no battle, but the Ti did not cease harassing Hsing. The Chinese seem at first to have underrated the danger, and the help sent to Hsing seems to have been too little. Not until a new catastrophe had practically ruined the state of Wei did the Chinese states rouse themselves to greater activity.

During the whole of 661 the Ti were devastating Hsing and probably settling in south-east Shan-hsi. The state of Li (A 1) seems to have submitted without much resistence; a certain degree of independence was left to it, and the Duke of Li was not driven out until some time towards the end of the seventh century. This indirect form of rule was probably more convenient to the Ti as well, since it can be assumed that their own political organization was not a very developed one. Later they established the state of Hsing in a similar state of domination. The Ti must have been in control of the Lu-an basin at this time, judging from the direction from which they attacked Wei.

The Ti invaded Wei in the winter of 660 B.C., moving probably from the Lu-an basin towards the south-east. It was a terrible blow. The Chinese states, which had not bothered particularly about the barbarians, were too late to save Wei. At a time of such danger from without, to make matters worse, Wei was torn by internal strife. Duke I (25) was as hated by the people as his father Duke Huei (26) had been; the latter had seized the throne instead of his brother Chi (27), the rightful heir, who had been assassinated by their father. The whole of Huei's reign had been marked by strife; and his son I inherited it with the throne. "When I, the Duke of Wei, came to the throne, neither the people nor his chief ministers were loyal to him. From the time that Shuo (28) (Duke Huei, father of Duke I) had slandered, and assassinated the heir to the throne Chi, and seized the throne in his place, into the reign of Duke I, (the people and the ministers) longed to overthrow (both these princes)."

This is the description of Wei given by Szu-ma-Chien (44 *Shih-chi* ch. 37, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng* p. 12; Ch M H IV, pp. 198–199). This hostility towards Duke I affects even the account of his death, and colours the whole romance-like story.

Duke I is said to have been so fond of cranes that he had them carted about in official chariots. "When the people were given arms to fight the Ti, they told the Duke to use his cranes against the enemy, if they were of such rank and dignity" (*Tso-chuan*, Min year 2, p. 126; *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu*, ed. *Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an*, ch. 11, p. 6b; R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 137).

There are only a few clear features in this fantastic tale; when the Ti attacked the country in the twelfth month, Duke I entrusted the capital to his officials and went forth to meet the enemy himself. He presumably told the states of the league of the trouble he was in, but they came too late and heard only of his defeat. Duke I had to rely on his own strength. We do not even know where the battle took place, for the sources do not agree. The Annals of the Bamboo Books give it as Tung-tse (29) "the Tung marshes" (ed. Ku-pen, 1, p. 20b; ed. Fan Hsiang yung, p. 39), corrected by the original gloss as "the Chiung marshes" (30). The *Tso-chuan* (L Ch Cl V, p. 126) calls the place "the Yung marshes" (31). The name Yung-tse has survived in the name of one district of the K'ai-feng prefecture. In the seventh century, however, this was part of the state of Cheng, and far indeed from Wei territory. The place at which the battle was fought must have lain somewhere in northern Wei, in the triangle formed on the left bank of the Yellow River, between the districts of Ch'i (32) and Tang-yin (33) in Honan province.

Wei was utterly defeated. "The army of Wei was utterly defeated. Wei was then destroyed", we read in the *Tso-chuan* (Min year 2, Ch Cl V, p. 126). The Duke himself probably died in the fighting; although there is no direct statement to that effect, he is never mentioned again. The *Tso-chuan* only adds that he refused to lower his flag, which only added to the severity of his defeat. Probably he did not want to lower the banner on his chariot in flight, and thus drew the enemy's attention to himself. We can deduce this situation from what the *Tso-chuan* (Ch'eng year 16, Ch Cl V, p. 392) recounts of the Count of Cheng in a similar case. Fleeing from the unfortunate battle of Yen-ling, with Chin soldiers in pursuit, his charioteer said: "Duke I of Wei was defeated at Yung only because he did not wish to lower his flag". Then he hid the flag in its casket and the spear-man gave his life for his Duke, who got away with the charioteer. The banner was the sacred symbol of every aristocrat, and even in extreme danger it was a disgrace to lower it. The proud Duke of Wei apparently preferred death. The Wei army was then almost completely wiped out. The commanders of the capital Chao-ko (34) in the north-east of the present district of Ch'i (32), although the town was prepared to defend itself, did not dare to submit to a siege but fled with the whole population towards the Yellow River. The *Tso-chuan* records a legend that when the Ti were pursuing the Wei armies they captured two astrologers who worked on their captors' superstition and told them they would never capture the town unless they were both allowed to enter it first. When the astrologers got inside the town they advised the commanders to flee with the people. Probably, hearing of the terrible defeat of Wei, the commanders cleared out without offering resistance (*Tso-chuan*, Min year 2, Ch Cl V, pp. 126—127).

Finding the town deserted, the Ti set off in pursuit of the fugitives, and caught up with them on the bank of the Yellow River. Only 730 men and women escaped the slaughter; the Duke of Sung, who was hastening to the aid of Wei ,managed to get them across the river under cover of night. The Ti spread throughout the country, looting and devastating it. The people fled southwards, to where the Duke of Sung was gathering the fugitives together on the other side of the river. Their numbers were swelled by those of the people of Kung (35), now the district of Huei (36) and those of T'eng (37) which probably lay fairly near, to a total of about 5,000 (*Tso-chuan*, Min year 2, Ch Cl V, p. 127). The Wei had to leave all the country on the left bank of the Yellow River, and only the region on the right bank of the Huang-ho was spared; this river however followed a much more northerly course then than now. The most easterly part of Wei also escaped, lying to the north-east of what is now An-yang (38) and protected by a powerful neighbour, Ch'i.

Duke Tai (39) was called to the throne, and settled in Ts'ao (40) on the right bank of the Yellow River, twenty *li* east of the present Hua-hsien (41). The descendants of the unhappy I were set aside. Tai was the son of Chao-po (42), the brother of Chi by the same mother, and was therefore of a family beloved in Wei. At any rate the *Tso-chuan* (Min year 2, p. 128) has only the highest praise for his brother and successor, Wen (43). Thanks to him Wei is said to have recovered to such an extent that towards the end of his reign Wen had again 300 chariots although he started out with only thirty.

The fugitives lived in great poverty in Ts'ao. Duke Tai himself had no more than a hovel and Duke Huan of Ch'i had to send the new ruler even the necessities of life (*Tso-chuan*, Min year 2, p. 127): "a four-in-hand, five sets of sacrificial robes, three hundred bulls, sheep, pigs, hens and dogs, as well as material for doors, and for his wife a cart with a sealskin cover and thirty pieces of finely embroidered silk". The catastrophe which overwhelmed Wei roused the princes; Huan sent his son to Ts'ao with three hundred chariots and three thousand armed men, for the Ti were a menace even there (*Tso-chuan*, Min year 2, p. 127). The state of Cheng, lying somewhat higher on the Yellow River than Wei, was also afraid of being attacked by the Ti. An army was therefore sent to the Yellow River and deployed along the bank. The ode Ch'ing-jen (44) in the *Shih-ching* (L Ch Cl IV, pp. 131—132), written in praise of this expedition, names P'eng (45), Hsiao (46) and Chu (47) as places where the soldiers camped. P'eng may have been in Wei territory, but we know nothing of the other two places. Ch'ing was a town in Cheng. The expedition was led by Kao K'o (48), whom the Duke of Cheng hated and hoped in this way to be rid of. The army lay on the frontier, inactive, but with no orders to return. At last the discontented soldiers dispersed, and Kao K'o fled to Ch'en. Nobody dared to attack the victorious Ti (Ch'un-ch'iu, Min year 2, p. 126; *Tso-chuan* p. 127).

The following year, in the spring of 659 B.C., the league tried to save Hsing. The armies of Ch'i, Sung and Ts'ao went as far as Nieh-pei (49), north-east of Liao-ch'eng-hsien (50), and stayed there until the summer (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 1, p. 132), not daring to go any further north. The scattered people of Hsing gathered behind them for protection. The soldiers took the people's property and evacuated them, apparently in a complete evacuation of the major part of the population of Hsing. The Duke had the town of I-i (20), on the very borders of Ch'i and Wei, fortified to serve as the Hsing capital, twelve *li* south-west of Liao-ch'eng-hsien. (I follow J. Legge's localization (*Tso-chuan*, p. 22) rather than that of the Chinese commentators, who place I-i forty *li* south-west of Shun-te. This location would not have helped them, indeed the new capital would have been even closer to the Ti than was the old one). The whole of the territory to the north, with the capital where Hsing-t'ai now stands, was relinquished and remained in the hands of the Ti (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 1, p. 132; *Tso-chuan*, p. 133).

Wei seems to have been threatened by the Ti once more, and so in 658 Duke Huan of Ch'i had the town of *Ch'u-ch'iu* (21) fortified for the new Duke Wen. It lay 60 *li* east of Hua-hsien (41), and was to be a bastion against future Ti raids (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 2, p. 135). Duke Tai died in the very first year of his reign, and Duke Wen became his successor (*Shih-chi* ch. 37, ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng, pp. 12—13, Ch M H IV, pp. 199—200).

Duke Huan of Ch'i never took any decisive steps against the Ti, his character revealing considerable hesitancy. He was of course very old by then, and his attention was fixed on the actions of his powerful rival, the state of Ch'u. The latter began attacking their former ally, the state of Cheng, which had become a member of the Chinese league some time before. Huan was afraid Cheng might drop away, and for that reason was preparing a determined campaign against Ch'u. This he thought would ensure his hegemony over the Chinese petty states, and perhaps even open the way to the royal throne. He was therefore not very anxious to lay himself open to fighting with the Ti, preferring to build a system of fortified places to protect the country against possible Ti raids, and to concentrate on the battle to come. This defensive policy on the part of Ch'i as regards the barbarians is well caught by *Kuo-yü*, *Ch'i-yü* (ch. 6, ed. Wei-chieh, p. 133): "Duke Huan established K'uei-tzu (51), Yen-fu (52), Fu-ch'iu (53), to build a barrier against the lands of the Jung and the Ti . . . He established Wu-lu (54), Chung-mou (55), Kai-yü (56), Mou ch'iu (57), in order to protect the lands of all the Hsia and show his power among the states of the Middle". This appears to be a fairly constant formula, for the same text with minor variations can be found in the *Kuan-tzu*, ch. *Hsiao-k'uang pien* (58) (ed. *Kuan-tzu chi chiao* 1956. p. 366), where the first four places are given as follows: Ts'ai (59) Yen (60) Ling (61) P'ei (62) Hsia (63) Ling (64) Fu (65) Ch'iu (66). I have deliberately left the words unconnected in order not to prejudice their interpretation. The second group of names is the same as in the first version, except for Yeh (67) inserted between Chung and Kai-yü.

As far as the identification of these places is concerned, the commentaries to the *Kuo-yü* accept the reading Ts'ai for K'uei. Ts'ai is the name of an old dukedom in Ho-nan usually identified with the present district of Shang Ts'ai (68). They follow the *Kuan-tzu* in reading Yen-ling (69) for Tzu-Yen; the latter is now a district in Ho-nan. They accept the commentaries to the *Kuan-tzu* that Fu-hsia was a place in Wei (III 2) identical with Chün-hsien (70) in Ho-nan. They interpret Lin-fu ch'iu as Ling-ch'iu (71), which was a town in Ch'i, 40 *li* east of Hsi-hsien (72) in Shantung. The *Kuo-yü* commentators identify Wu-lu with the Pu-yang (73) district in Ho-pei, and locate Chung-mou 40 *li* west of T'ang-yin hsien (33) in Honan. They identify Kai-yü with O-yü (74), which was a Han town in the Warring States period and later a Chao town, and lay in the north-west of the present Ho-shun district (75) in Shan-hsi. Mou-ch'iu is located by the *Kuo-yü* commentaries 70 *li* north-east of Liao-ch'eng district (50), or in Shih-p'ing district (76) in Shan-tung.

It is nevertheless improbable that this passage records a well-founded historical tradition about the deeds of Duke Huan. It is clearly a romance, probably handed down by word of mouth — which would account for the varying transcriptions of words which have the same sound, and is certainly a very vague account in which contamination has occurred between similar characters, and one name easily replaced by another. Although it pretends to give a list of places fortified by Duke Huan, the names of those places which Duke Huan really did fortify are missing, names known from reliable sources like the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. The sources, on the other hand, do not mention the fortification of any of these places. The location of the towns named does not exclude the possibility that Duke Huan did fortify them, although it is not very likely that he got as far as Ho-shun in Shan-hsi. Probably the traditional story was embellished with names familiar to the authors of the tradition, who came from Central or Eastern China. We cannot see in the tradition anything more than a reminiscence that Duke Huan used the normal methods of defence against the barbarians; in other words, the romance tradition confirms the conclusions we have already reached in our analysis of the historical records.

XVIII

New Ti settlements in the east, and their incursions into the Chinese states

The invasion of the eastern regions by the Ti was of a very different nature from previous incursions by the Hsien-yün and the Northern Barbarians. Whereas the latter were ephemeral episodes which left no profound traces behind, apart from the destruction they brought with them, the invasion of the Ti fundamentally changed the ethnic and political map of China for a long time to come, and it was centuries before the consequences were annulled. It was the Ti invasion that created the traditional map of Eastern China in ancient times as we know it from the work of J. Legge and H. Maspero. A comparison of the invasions of all these three barbarian groups, in spite of the fragmentary nature of the sources, reveals certain specific traits characteristic of each. The most striking thing about the Hsien-yün invasion is its concentration, its immensity, and the limited time it took. As we have already remarked, this attack reminds us of the sudden vast invasions of the western borders of Eurasia by new formations of horse nomads, like those of the Scythians. We get the impression of a new type of fast-moving warrior appearing on the Chinese scene, coming from far away, and disappearing again. In the West, too, the Scythian raids stopped after a time, when the steppe lands had been portioned out and the new masters, amassing wealth, preferred a relatively peaceful existence among their herds and flocks.

The invasions of the Northern Jung and the Wu-chung are in many respects reminiscent of fugitive populations — fugitive shepherds and primitive peasants — trying to flee before robber raids carried out against them by new nomadic neighbours. This is the phase of development revealed by the excavations at Bolšaja Rečka.

The third phase in the West took the form of a transformation, turning peaceable farmers into a new warrior society, as happened with the Ananino culture in north-east Russia and as we can see in the Minusinsk region. It was probably accompanied by sharper social stratification, the disintegration of the primitive agricultural communities and the emergence of an aristocracy of warrior clans. At the same time a tighter social structure was created and we find the rudiments of state organization. The question arises, whether the Ti migrations to the east should not be considered in this light, too. As we shall see, at the time of the Ti invasions in the east the Western Ti, who remained in their old homeland, were headed by a "Duke of Ti" who seems to have ruled over the whole of their former territory. On the other hand, the fighting clans apparently resisted this new form of authority — we hear of fighting between the Western Ti and the tribes moving to attack the east. The warrior clans subdued both their fellow tribesmen (the destruction of the Ti in Shan-hsi was facilitated by conflicts between the ruling warrior clans and the mass of the people, the *chung Ti* (1), clearly the people as distinct from the rulers, and the former populations of the territories they occupied. The contradictions which arose from this state of affairs, as we shall see, weakened the position of the newcomers.

Probably the warlike clans which were formed during the fighting against the nomads turned their new skills of war against their own fellow-tribesmen, used them to enslave the older peasant peoples, and then began raiding for loot on their own account. Thus the movement of the Ti towards the east can be seen not only as the desertion of their previous settlements under pressure from nomad bands, but also as the search for new bases for looting raids, in the manner of the nomads themselves — or even as an attempt to acquire new territory where the inhabitants could be subdued and conveniently exploited over a longer period. Naturally there could be yet another impulse behind the Ti migrations, in the growing pressure of Chin, the state which we have already observed subduing the Ti on the left, or eastern bank of the Yellow River. Thus in our opinion the Ti migrations are revealed as a complex historical process in which the original impulse calls forth many subsequent and involved reactions.

The Ti clans (I use the word "clan" for the Chinese *shih* (2)) which moved into eastern Shan-hsi shared the more fertile valleys out among themselves. The T'ai-yüan basin, perhaps with the land lying to the south-east, fell to the Ch'iang-kao-ju clan (XVI I19).We can deduce this from the fact that this was the clan attacked by the Western Ti (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 24, p. 184), while the only possible point of contact between the two groups was the T'ai-yüan basin. We can also assume that the Ti were in command of at least the southern part of the T'ai-yüan basin from the fact that following on the wars waged by Duke Wen against the Ti, to be discussed below, the Chin were in possession of the town of Yang (3) in the year 628 B.C.; this was 15 *li* to the south-east of T'ai-ku-hsien, in the prefecture of T'ai-yüan. As early as 628 B.C., the year when Duke Wen of Chin died, the sources mention a certain Yang Ch'u-fu (4) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 32, p. 220), elsewhere given as Yang-tzu (5), "the Duke of Yang", or Yang shih (6), "the Lord of Yang".

The manifold valleys round what is now Lu-an-fu were settled by the Lu (7), whose capital, later to become the Lu-hsien district, lay to the south-east of the present district of Lu-ch'eng. Lu is already mentioned in the Geographical chapter of the *Han-shu* (ed. Wang Hsien ch'ien, ch. 28 A, p. 46a) as a district in Shang-tang chün (8). The Lu have left some trace behind them in local names (see *Ta Ch'ing i-t'ung chih* ch. 103). Besides the name of Lu-ch'eng district there is the mountain Lu-tz'u-shan (9), fifteen *li* south-east of Li-ch'eng-hsien. On this mountain there is said to be the place of sacrifice of the Lu duke Ying-erh (10), to whom we shall be returning (p. 3a). There is also the river Lu-ho in the north of Lu-ch'eng-hsien district; it rises twenty *li* to the north-east, i.e. north-west of the town of Wei-tzu (11). We are even told that the gravestone of Duke Ying-erh is there, too (p. 6b). We should not of course imagine that all these names and these relics really date from such ancient times. Most of them have probably only been reconstructed not so long ago, on the grounds of readings in the classics. Nevertheless they are some confirmation of what the commentaries say, and show that certain traditions have always been bound to a certain place.

Not far from the Lu, in what is now Tun-liu district (12), the Liu-yü settled (13). The old town of Tun-liu, still reminding us of their name, lay further south than the present town of that name, and was already mentioned in the Han geography (*Han-shu* ch. 28 A, p. 44b). The To-ch'en (14) may also have been settled in the vicinity. The plains of Ho-pei, which the Ti had captured from the Hsing, were apparently ruled by the Chia (XVII 22) in what is now Chi-che-hsien (15), Kuang-p'ing-fu (16). To the north the domain of the Red Ti stretched as far as the present Luan-ch'eng district (17) south-east of Cheng-ting (18), Ho-pei, for after the subjugation of the Red Ti this town is given in 491 B.C. as being in Chin hands (*Tso-chuan*, Ai year 4, p. 804). Moving northwards, near the districts of Kao-ch'eng (19) and Chin (20), we reach the states of Fei (II 33) and Ku (II 50), which already belonged to the Northern Ti, subjugated by Chin only much later. The Northern Ti occupied the plain from here to the present sub-prefecture of I (XVII 18).

The Ti did not enjoy a very safe position in their own land. We know that in its very heart the state of Li maintained some degree of independence, recognizing the supremacy of the Ti, as the state of Hsing did later. As the power of the Ti declined they probably came into conflict with the local peoples, which would also work towards their fall. Nor was the internal organization of the Ti very secure, as we shall see later.

On the west the Ti were probably being pressed by other tribes, with whom we find the Ch'iang-kao-ju fighting soon after 660 B.C. We know very little about it; the Western Ti seem already to have formed a stronger political organization and been capable of more ambitious undertakings. All the Ti tribes from the Wei valley in the south to the T'ai-yüan basin in the north-east obeyed a common chief, called by our sources Ti-chün, "Prince of Ti". This can be deduced from the information that Prince Ch'ung-erh of Chin, who fled to the Western Ti, went hunting with the Prince of Ti on the banks of the Wei (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 24, p. 188, and *Kuo-yü*, ed. Wei chieh, *Chin-yü* ch. 10, p. 19), and then took part in the Ti expedition against the Ch'iang-kao-ju, which means he was somewhere in the T'ai-yüan basin (*Tso-chuan* p. 184). This expedition took place soon after Ch'ung-erh came to the Ti, in 655 or 654 B.C. We know no more about it than that two women of the Wei clan (II 7) were captured and that one of them became Ch'ung-erh's wife. There is another reference to the Prince of the Western Ti in 627 B.C. (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 33, p. 223), when he is called Pai Ti tzu (21), "Lord of the White Ti"; this was when the Chin captured him.

In the course of time the groups gradually differentiated. The Chinese use the name Red Ti for the tribes which settled in eastern Shan-hsi. In the Annals of the Bamboo Books the name was used in the account of the Ti invasion of Wei in 660 B.C. (*Chu-shu chi nien*, ed. Ku-pen, p. 12a; ed. Fan Hsiang-yung, p. 39).

In the *Ch'un-ch'iu* (Hsüan year 3, p. 291) it is not used before the year 606. We shall return to the significance of this *name* in our final chapter. Apart from the Kao-lao we know only one other tribe from eastern Shan-hsi which probably did not belong to the Red Ti; they were the Ti from Li-t'u (22). In 635 B.C. Duke Wen of Chin sent them and the Jung from Ts'ao-chung (23) gifts, when he was preparing to go to the aid of King Hsiang of Chou (*Kuo yü*, ed. *Wei Chieh*, *Chin-yü* ch. 10, p. 22). These two tribes obviously controlled the road from Chin to the valley of the Yellow River, probably holding the Tung-wu-lin pass through which the road from I-ch'eng to Ch'in-shui district had to pass.

Distinguishing them from the eastern Ti, who are called the Red Ti, the Western Ti are also called the White Ti. The first occurrence of the name in the *Tso-chuan* refers to the year 627 (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 33, p. 223). In the *Kuo-yü*, however (Wei chieh, ch. 6, p. 130), it is already used in the legend about Duke Huan's expedition to the west, when he reached the Western Ho. The fact that the name of the White Ti is linked in the legend with the Western Ho, shows that it referred to the Ti settled in Shen-hsi (see below, p. 154).

The fighting between the Red and the White Ti must have kept both sides busy for some years. After 658 B.C., when a new threat from the Red Ti arose and necessitated moving the Wei capital to the more protected Ch'u-ch'iu, the sources do not mention Red Ti again until 650. Similarly the Western Ti began attacking Chin in 652, two years earlier. Having probably finished their mutual struggles, both sides found strength to turn against the Chinese states.

The internal conflicts which tore Chin towards the end of Duke Hsien's reign presented the Ti with their opportunity. We have already recounted the hostility between Duke Hsien and his son Shen-sheng arising out of the latter's appointment to govern the town of Ch'ü-wu. The whole affair was probably one of internal politics. According to the *Tso-chuan* (Min year 2, p. 128) Duke Hsien ruled through his favourites at the expense of his ministers. The Chin ministers were also the chiefs of the most powerful clans. It is a proof of their discontent that members of the most powerful houses accompanied Shen-sheng's brother Ch'ung-erh into exile, although it had been Duke Hsien himself who had laid the foundations for the power of these families. Ch'ung-erh was accompanied by members of the Hu (24), Chao (25), and Wei (VII 5) families, and the Minister of Works Chi-tzu (26) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 24, p. 184).

The discontents gained the ear of the heir to the throne, who found himself in their midst. Shen-sheng paid for his opposition to his father with his life; when he saw no way out, in 656, he committed suicide in Ch'ü-wu (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 4, p. 140). His brothers Ch'ung-erh (II 47) and I-wu (27), who were probably involved in the whole thing, revolted against Duke Hsien. Their mothers were of the Hu family (24), of barbarian origin but by then one of the foremost houses in Chin. They were thus naturally on the side of the aristocracy. They depended on the support of the frontier posts they had been put in charge of. Duke Hsien sent an army against them and put them to flight. Ch'ung-erh fled to the

Western Ti and I-wu to Liang, in 655 and 654 respectively (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 5, p. 143, and Hsi year 6, p. 146).

The Western Ti could not take action on Ch'ung-erh's behalf until 652. They prepared to cross the Yellow River at the ford of Ts'ai-sang (28), to the west of the present district of Hsiang-ning (29) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 8, p. 150). An army under Li K'o (30) was sent against them, but Duke Hsien could not have chosen a worse person; Li K'o was an ardent and courageous supporter of Ch'ung-erh and immediately after the death of Duke Hsien the following year, killed the son of Hsien and Li Chi, Hsi-ch'i (31) and wanted to put Ch'ung-erh on the throne (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 9, p. 152). His operations against the Ti were probably only for appearances' sake. He did defeat them at Ts'ai-sang, but he did not follow up his victory, on the excuse that he feared a general rising. The Ti then repeated their invasion in the summer, probably with greater success (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 8, p. 150; *Tso-chuan* p. 150; *Chu-shu chi-nien*, ed. Ku-pen, p. 12a; Fan Hsiang-yung, p. 39; Ch M H IV, p. 269. Szu-ma Ch'ien, like the Annals of the Bamboo Books, records only one expedition). The fighting is recorded in the *Shih-chi* (chronological tables, ch. 14, ed. Ku Chieh-kang p. 53, in the 25th year of Duke Hsien, i.e. 652 B.C.): "We attacked the Ti on account of Ch'ung-erh".

Li K'o's help was of no avail to Ch'ung-erh; after he had killed both the sons of Li-Chi Li K'o was himself killed, and the brother of Ch'ung-erh, I-wu, who also had the support of the Ch'i, was placed on the throne.

Duke Huan of Ch'i also took a hand in the period of confusion into which the death of Duke Hsien had plunged Chin. Of the year 651 the *Tso-chuan* records (p. 153): "Accompanied by the armies of the princes the Duke of Ch'i invaded Chin and reached Kao-liang (32), and then returned. The purpose of his expedition was to punish the wrongdoing there". We do not know where Kao-liang was: Duke Huan may have been attacking the Western Ti, who were helping Ch'ung-erh. This could be the significance of the legendary expedition of Duke Huan to the west, in the course of which he even crossed the Western Ho; this legend already appears in the *Kuo-yü* (ed. Wei-chieh, Ch'i yü ch. 6, p. 130). It is noteworthy, however, that the *Ch'un-ch'iu* has not a word about this expedition to Chin. If it did in fact take place it was probably a small affair, and the extra details have been supplied by the romance of how Duke Huan went to all four corners of the earth. The romance tradition of Duke Huan's expeditions is analysed in detail by G. Haloun (1926, pp. 78ff.), who includes (p. 83) a translation of the version in the *Kuo-yü*. On p. 107 Haloun tried to provide a factual basis for this tradition, and came to the conclusion that in the year 650 B.C. Duke Huan crossed the Yellow River somewhere near Cheng-ting-fu (18), penetrated into the Fen valley, and then returned to Ch'eng-chou. Since Haloun wrongly supposes the White Ti to be the Northern Ti, the result is utterly confused. At this time nobody could have moved from the Great Plain into the Fen valley. In addition, as we have seen, Duke Huan was very cautious in his dealings with the Ti. This was also the view of H. Maspero (1927 B), who wrote in his review of Haloun's book (p. 145): "Haloun reprenant une hypothèse de Kou Yen-wou, il

l'identifie avec une expedition réelle contre le Chin mentionnée par le *Tso-chuan* en 650. L'examen des textes me parait au contraire indiquer qu'il s'agit là purement et simplement d'une fable sans fondement ni valeur historique."

What is important, however, is the fact that even in the earliest version of this legend, recorded in the *Kuo-yü*, the name of the White Ti is linked with the Western Ho, as we have pointed out above (p. 153).

The Red Ti, having disposed of the danger threatening them from their fellow-tribesmen in the north, again began to harass the states of the Great Plain. Their opportunity was the state of unrest within these petty states.

There was hostility between King Hsiang, who came to the throne in 651 B.C., and his younger brother Tai (33). Tai had been the favourite of his father, King Huei (676—652) because his mother was Huei's concubine; after the death of the king's first wife, the mother of Hsiang, the king wanted to disinherit Hsiang in favour of Tai. Duke Huan of Ch'i intervened, however, and Hsiang came to the throne without trouble on his father's death, although Tai still remained a dangerous threat.

Tai organized a rebellion, which was to be set in motion by the Baron of Wen (34) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 10, p. 155). Wen was a small petty state whose capital lay 30 *li* south of the present Wen hsien on the northern bank of the Yellow River; it was strategically a very important state because it controlled the northern approaches to the Chou domains. We do not find anywhere in the sources that the Baron of Wen was in league with Tai, but we can assume this to have been so because his rebellion broke out immediately before that of Tai, and only an alliance with Tai can explain the reason for this rebellion and for such a bold step as calling on the Ti for help. Tai was constantly trying to rouse the barbarians against his brother. In the spring of 650 the Baron of Wen went to the Ti and tried to rouse them against the king; they seem to have agreed, but had no intention of fighting other people's battles for them. They took the petty state of Wen for themselves and the Baron had to flee to Wei (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 10, p. 155; *Tso-chuan* p. 155).

When the appeal to the Ti failed Tai called on various Jung tribes from Yang-chü (V 55), Ch'üan-kao (V56), I (35) and Lo (36); they struck at the capital, managed to get inside, and burned down the eastern gate, in 649. It took the combined efforts of Ch'in and Chin to force them to make peace (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 11, p. 158). The following year the king drove Tai out of the country, and he then fled to Ch'i (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 12, p. 159).

When the Ti had control of Wen they became a threat to the whole vicinity and the state of Wei was again menaced. The states of the League, under old Duke Huan, therefore threw an embankment round the outskirts of Ch'u-ch'iu. (XVII 21). They were afraid of renewed Ti raids (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 12, p. 159) and these were not long in coming. In the spring of 647 the Ti invaded Wei and devastated the country (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 13, p. 160).

A conference of the League held in Hsien (37) in the summer of the same year debated means of combatting the constant barbarian raids. *Tso-chuan* (Hsi year

13, p. 160) recorded that only raids by the I of Huai (38) were discussed, and matters of the royal house, but the consultations were probably broader than that. Forces were sent out to guard the royal domains (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 13, p. 160). In other directions the activity of the League was probably paralysed by the latest Ch'u advance: Ch'u had destroyed the petty state of Huang (39) in the south, in 648 (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 11, p. 158), for daring to join the Chinese league; it then threatened Chiang (40) (*Ku-liang chuan*, Hsi year 12).

Finding no resistance in their path the Ti went on to devastate the state of Cheng, lying further south, in 646 B.C. (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 14, p. 161). The League tried to prevent them advancing further by making a flank attack on their territory in the Great Plain. After a conference in Mou-ch'iu (XVII, 57) attended by the states of Ch'i, Sung, Ch'en, Wei, Cheng, Hsü and Ts'ao, the princes' armies camped at K'uang (41), now Ta-ming in Ho-pei, on the borders of the former state of Hsing; this was in 645 B.C. (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 15, p. 163). Neither the *Ch'un-ch'iu* nor the *Tso-chuan* say explicitly that the expedition to K'uang was directed against the Ti, but its geographical position makes this clear. De Groot (1921, I, p. 15) is of the same opinion. There were no other actions; either the Ti refused to be drawn, or, as is more likely, the League did not dare to advance further into Ti territory and risk an encounter.

With the death of Huan of Ch'i in the year 643 the last protector of the eastern states against the Ti and the Ch'u disappeared. The first consequence was that the state of Hsing came entirely under Ti power, and Hsing soldiers took part in the Ti invasion of Wei in 642 (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 18, p. 173). Ch'i, exhausted by the part it had played for so long, was at the end of its resources. Conflicts broke out between Huan's many sons. The legal heir to the throne was sent to Sung for safety; here the Duke of Sung tried to rally the remnants of the League behind him, while the other four sons turned to the Ti for help. The Lu and above all the powerful Ch'u were on their side.

Sung worked quickly. In the winter of 642 B.C. the Duke himself led his army, reinforced by men from Ts'ao, Wei and Chu, to attack Ch'i. The Lu army which had come to the aid of the pretenders was forced to retreat and in the spring was defeated at Yen (42) on Ch'i territory, now Li-ch'eng (43) in Chi-nan region (44). The rout was complete. The Ti army arrived too late and did not dare to join battle, but attacked Wei and devastated it (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 18, p. 173; *Tso-chuan* p. 174).

Eastern China was now divided into two camps. In 641 B.C. Lu made an alliance against Sung and their allies, which was joined by Ch'en, Ts'ai, Cheng and the powerful Ch'u (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 19, p. 175). Sung was too weak to resist such a powerful set of enemies and the Sung allies had to rely on their own resources. Wei had to suffer repeated Ti raids, revenge for the part played by Wei in the fighting for the throne of Ch'i.

We have seen that when the Ti were unsuccessful in Ch'i they turned to attack Wei, accompanied by Hsing reinforcements. They laid siege to the town of T'u-pu (45), the location of which is not known. The situation in Wei was very confused. Before setting out the Duke of Wei offered the throne and the command of his army to his relatives, apparently as the only means of getting them to do anything at all. Then he took up his position with the army at Tzu-lou (46), sixty *li* south-west of Hua-hsien (XVII 41), close to the fortified capital Ch'u-ch'iu (XVII 21). The Ti, who presumably came as usual from the north-west, were caught between two lines of fire. Since it was already winter, they raised the siege and withdrew (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 18, p. 174). The Wei, being unable to get at the Ti in the inaccessible T'ai-hang range, at least took revenge on the Hsing, invading their territory in 641 (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 19, p. 175; *Tso-chuan* pp. 175 and 176) and harassing them a great deal. Feeling the Wei advance to be a threat, the Ti allied themselves to the Ch'i in the following year, in Hsing (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 20, p. 177; *Tso-chuan* p. 178). Strengthened by this alliance they invaded Wei again at the very outset of 639 B.C. (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 21, p. 179) This dragging war certainly did more harm to the peasant state of Wei than to the warrior bands of the Ti. By making their peace with Ch'i the Ti gained a completely free hand in the east. The alliance was probably equally convenient for Ch'i freeing them for some years from the menace of Ti robber raids and allowing them to recuperate from their recent catastrophes.

Meanwhile a serious complication had arisen in the west, giving the Ti another opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the royal domains of Chou. This could have had far-reaching consequences, had not Chin intervened.

The town of Hua (XVII 41) in Yen-shih district (47), Lo-yang, may at one time have been independent, but at some unknown later date it became part of Cheng. This domination was hateful, and in 640 B.C. Hua rebelled and put itself under Wei rule (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 20, p. 177; *Tso-chuan* p. 178). Wei was helpless to protect them, itself weakened and constantly menaced by the Ti; indeed in 639 Wei was again devastated by the Ti (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 21, p. 179) while in the same year the Duke of Sung, their ally, was taken prisoner at a conference in Yü (48), on Ch'u orders (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 21, p. 179). The rebels could not hold out long on their own. In the summer of 640 the Cheng army had already arrived and laid siege to Hua, commanded by Prince Shih (49), the son of the Count of Cheng, and another high official named Hsieh Tu-k'ou (50). King Hsiang of Chou could not fail to be displeased by a Cheng victory; Hua lay not far from his capital Lo-i, and the Cheng state had long been a threat to his royal domain.

Hsiang tried to deal with the situation diplomatically, sending a messenger to Cheng asking for the siege to be lifted. Count Wen, probably relying on the alliance he had formed with the Ch'u the previous year (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 19, p. 175), felt strong enough to refuse. There was also old personal bitterness involved; in any case he had the king's messengers thrown in jail and the king alone was too weak to punish his arrogant vassal. *Tso-chuan* records the expedition against Hua as taking place in 640 (Hsi year 20, p. 178) but ending as late as 636 (Hsi year 24, p. 189); at this point the events are summed up. This would look as though there were two expeditions, in 640 and 636 respectively. The same mistake appears in Szu-ma Ch'ien, where we read that when the Cheng army occupied Hua the town submitted but as soon as they withdrew the town revolted again (Ch M H IV, p. 464). In the *Kuo-yü*, however (ed. *Wei-chieh*, *Chou-yü* ch. 2, p. 24) it is clear enough: In the thirteenth year of Hsiang (i.e. 639) Cheng attacked Hua and in the seventeenth year (635) the King called in the Ti. For the year 636 *Tso-chuan* is merely summing up the reasons for the conflict, not describing a second expedition, as is clear from the fact that in both passages, pp. 178 and 189, the names of the commanders are the same.

At first the king relied on help from Wei and Sung, but the expeditions these states sent against Cheng, aided by the Baron of Hsü and the lord of T'eng, in 638 B.C. were unsuccessful (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 22, p. 181). None of the sources records this expedition in connection with events in Hua, but this is the only explanation of why the king had to wait until 636 for his revenge.

The king had to look for more effective allies, and decided to call on the Ti. This was a very dangerous thing to do, and the king's entourage probably regarded it with suspicion. Both the *Tso-chuan* (Hsi year 24, p. 189) and the *Kuo-yü* (ed. *Wei-chieh*, *Chou-yü*, ch. 2, pp. 24ff.) contain long speeches ostensibly made by his counsellors to King Hsiang, to deflect him from this course: they reminded him of the long history of alliance between Cheng and Chou. The king in his indignation refused caution and sent the official T'ui-shu (51) and the lord of T'ao (52) to the Ti (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 24, p. 189). The Ti willingly heard the King's request and in the summer of 636 invaded Cheng (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, p. 188). They seized the important territory of Li (53), Yü-chou (54), in K'ai-feng region, in the southern part of the present Ho-nan province. Most of the state of Cheng was devastated, and in gratitude the king took the daughter of the Ti chief to wife. This step proved fateful, due to harem intrigue. Tai, the brother of Hsiang, who had shortly before returned from exile and been rehabilitated in his former positions, started an affair with the lady Wei (II 7, her clan name); this angered the king, who cast her out (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 24, p. 190).

The royal officers attending the Ti armies in Cheng were afraid the Ti would vent their wrath on them, and therefore offered the throne to Tai, while promising him at the same time the help of the Ti, whom they inflamed against the king. Hearing of the Ti advance King Hsiang fled from the town of Lo-i to K'an-k'an (55) east of Kung-hsien (56) in Lo-yang region, although his courtiers wanted to defend the capital. In any case the people brought the king back. Led by two officials who proclaimed that Tai was king, the Ti advanced towards the capital (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 24, p. 190). The royal army was utterly defeated at some spot unknown to us. It was a terrible defeat, in which Chi-fu (57), the Duke of Chou and the lords of Yüan (58) and Mao (59) were taken prisoner. The king did not wait for his capital to be besieged. The road to the north, to Chin, was closed by the Ti, and in the west the remnants of the Jung were active, and so King Hsiang fled to his enemy and settled in Cheng, in the town of Fan (60). This is the southern Fan, in the south of Hsiang-ch'eng district (61), Hsü-chou (62). His brother Tai settled with the lady Wei in Wen, which had been in Ti hands since 650. In the winter the king sent news of his disaster to many states, asking Chin and Ch'in for help (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 24, p. 188; *Tso-chuan*, pp. 189—190). It is probable that the news was sent to other states as well as to Lu. The *Ch'un-ch'iu* dates this invasion of Cheng in the year 24 of Duke Hsi (636 B.C.); together with this request for help it shows that for the chronology of these events it is better to rely on the official chronicle, *Ch'un-ch'iu*, than on the *Kuo-yü*, which dates the invasion of Cheng in year 17 of King Hsiang, or 635 B.C. (*Wei-chieh*, *Chou-yü* ch. 2B, p. 25) and the repudiation of the lady Wei in year 18 (634) (ch. 2, p. 28). The *Kuo-yü* is a year out. The Ch'in chronicles, which are quite independenet as a historical source, also give the date of the Ti attack on King Hsiang as t8h 24th year of Duke Mu, i.e. the autumn of 636 (Ch M H II, p. 36).

While the Ti armies were far to the west, Wei took advantage of the moment to seize Hsing. In the first month of the year 635 the town was taken by guile; two Wei officers disguised as deserters got inside Hsing, and when the Wei army drew near they seized Kuo-tzu (63), who may have been the commander of the town, and thus brought about its fall (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 25, p. 193; *Tso-chuan*, p. 194). This was probably all the easier if the Hsing soldiers had gone with the Ti as they usually did.

The Red Ti were now at the height of their power, with the Cheng territory and the royal domains in their hands; at this point came a fateful turn in their history. They came into conflict with Chin, then rising to be the most powerful state in China. Chin, acquiring territory in what is now Ho-nan, were bound to work for the downfall of the Ti. Forty years later they had suceeded.

The reign of Ch'ung-erh's brother, who came to the throne of Chin as Duke Huei, was not a happy one. Before his ascension, in corder to ensure for himself the support of Duke Mu of Ch'in, he had promised him the Chin territory on the right bank of the Yellow River. He kept putting off the fulfilment of this promise, however, until Ch'in was forced to fight over it. The war ended in 645 B.C. with the crushing defeat of Chin in the plain of Han (XV 52), the capture of Huei himself and the scattering of his army. Huei had to cede the promised territory and the heir to his throne had to stay behind in Ch'in as a hostage (Ch M H II, pp. 31—34; *Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 15, p. 163; *Tso-chuan* pp. 164—165).

The White Ti took advantage of this defeat and invaded Chin the following year, 644 B.C.. It was probably Ch'ung-erh who sought to rouse the Ti against his brother, who was plotting against his life, whereupon Ch'ung-erh deserted the Ti. That there is a connection between the plots against Ch'ung-erh and his desertion of the Ti is clear from the chronological context. Ch'ung-erh took refuge with the Ti in the year 655 and stayed with them for twelve years, which means that he left them again in the year 644. Probably he no longer felt safe among them, after the invasion and his brother's plots against his life (*T'so-chuan* p. 188). The chronological tables in the *Shih-chi*, however (ed. Ku Chieh-kang ch. 14, p. 57, Huei year 7) put forward a different explanation for Ch'ung-erh leaving the Ti: "Hearing that Kuan Chung had died, Ch'ung-erh left the Ti and went to Ch'i". Kuan Chung died in 645. It is possible, of course, that all these factors combined;

no longer sure of his safety among the Ti Ch'ung-erh may have gone to Ch'i in the belief that now when Kuan Chung was dead he might find support in Ch'i for his plans to gain power in Chin. This would lead us to suppose that Ch'i was not originally on his side, and that therefore the throne went to his brother Huei.

After this disastrous defeat Chin was defenceless. The Ti attacked and took the town of Hu-ch'u (64) in the west of Hsiang-ling district (65), and the town of Shou-to (66) whose site is not known. They then crossed the river Fen and attempted to take the town of K'un-tu (V 85) on the eastern bank. (See above, p. 43) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 16, p. 170). They did not dare to go further, and retreated with much booty.

When Duke Huei died in 637 B. C., his son Duke Huai (67) did not hold his throne for more than a few months. In the spring of the following year Duke Mu of Ch'in put Ch'ung-erh on the throne as Duke Wen (68) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 24, p. 188).

It was to him that King Hsiang now turned for help, and the *Tso-chuan* describes Duke Wen's embarassment at the request. Only a short while before, he had almost perished in the flames of his palace during the rebellion, and being forced to flee the country had again begged the Duke of Ch'in to help him. It was only under the auspices of the Ch'in army that he was able to return home at all. (For the confused situation in Chin see the *Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 23, pp. 188--189). Again and again he consulted the oracles; the answer was favourable and the expedition was agreed on. Perhaps the deciding factor was rivality towards Ch'in, which was also sending an army to help the king, but Duke Wen refused (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 25, p. 194).

The road to the Yellow River valley was not easy; much later a writer in the *Tso-chuan* (Ting year 13, p. 782) said that it took three months to get from the Chin capital, Chiang (XVI 9) to the Yellow River, and that was in a time when Chin had long been in command of the whole area. The only fairly feasible road led from the present I-ch'eng to Ch'in-shui and thence southwards along the river Ch'in to Ch'in-yang-hsien (V 17). This road was in the hands of Ti tribes from Li-t'u (XVI 5) and the Jung from Ts'ao-chung (XVI 4). Duke Wen bought his safe passage with gifts (*Kuo-yü*, ed. *Wei-chieh*, *Chin-yü*, ch. 10, p. 22). In the spring of 635 he came down to Yang-fan (69), somewhere near Ch'in-yang-hsien, with two armies. There they separated, one marching against the seat of Tai, Wen, and the other going to meet the king. The Ti deserted the pretender even sooner, perhaps in order to help Hsing. Tai was captured in Wen and done to death in the town of Hsi (70). (According to the commentary to the *Kuo-yü*, ed. *Wei-chieh*, *Chin-yü* ch. 10, p. 22, 15 *li* south-west of Wu-chih (71), to the north-east of Wen (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 25, p. 194).

Duke Wen was well paid for his pains; apart from honorary rank and symbols of dignity he received a rich reward: the important territory of Ho-nei, which corresponded to the former Huai-ch'ing prefecture. According to the *Tso-chuan* (Hsi year 25, p. 194), he was also given the territories of Yang-fan (69), Wen (34), Yüan (58) and Tsuan-mao (72). This was apparently the first time Chin colonized Nan-yang territory (73). The territory did not change hands smoothly, in the case of Yang-fan and Yüan at least, where the population resisted the change (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 25, p. 194).

This territorial gift was of significance for the further history of the Ti. Ho-nei and Chin were connected only by that danger-fraught road along the Ch'in-shui, constantly menaced by the Ti. In order to ensure the safety of the new territories Chin had to break the power of the Ti.

Duke Wen was already constantly at war with them; the fighting was probably sharp, but complete lack of records prevents us from assessing their significance. All we know is that in the winter of 632 Wen increased his armies by three "in order to oppose the Ti" (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 28, p. 206). Perhaps the Ti took advantage of the preoccupation of Chin with the Ch'u and made new inroads. Wen seems to have fought both the White and the Red Ti, but at first he was probably concerned with the latter, judging from *Tso-chuan* (Hsi year 30, p. 214): "In the spring (of 630 B.C.) men of Chin invaded Cheng, to find out whether this state could be attacked. The Ti took advantage of the trouble Chin was having with Cheng and that summer they invaded Ch'i". (See also the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 30, p. 214.) The impending contest with Cheng probably forced Chin to recall the army which held the Red Ti in check, and these latter were then able to harass the Chinese states again. The expedition against Cheng in 630 B.C. failed because of the unreliability of Chin's ally, the Duke of Ch'in (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 30, p. 215). And the following year we read that Duke Wen again increased his forces to five armies "in order to oppose the Ti" (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 31, p. 218). This time the need for strength was hardly likely to be caused by the Red Ti, who were laying siege to the Wei capital and could not therefore be menaced by an expedition in their rear (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 31, p. 217).

Wen was probably aiming at expansion at the expense of the Western Ti and then further north. Here Chin extended her territory considerably, annexing the southern part of the T'ai-yüan basin, for as we noted above (p. 151), the town of Yang is recorded as being in Chin hands as early as 628. This was a significant success, for the T'ai-yüan basin was very fertile, and its occupation by Chin cut the Western Ti tribes off from those of the Eastern group.

The invasion of Chin by the White Ti immediately following the death of Wen in 627 was perhaps vengeance for his attacks on them. They may have been acting in concert with Ch'in, which attacked Chin in the same year, but Wen's successor Duke Hsiang, still in his white mourning robes, merely streaked with black dye to avoid ill omen, attacked the Ch'in forces and dealt them a heavy defeat with the help of the Chiang Jung (74), at Hsiao (75) (Ch M II II, p. 38; *Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 33, p. 221; *Tso-chuan* pp. 222 and 223). He then turned against the White Ti and defeated them at Chi (76) (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 33, p. 221). Chi was already in Chin territory, for we read in the *Tso-chuan* (p. 223) that "the Ti attacked Chin and reached as far as Chi". In the Chinese commentaries and therefore in the work of the European scholars J. Legge and de Groot (J. Legge, *Tso-chuan* p. 225; de Groot, 1921, p. 24) this place is given as lying 35 *li* south of the present T'ai-ku (77) in T'ai-yuan region. It would be very strange, however, for the Ti to be attacking so far north. The region of T'ai-yüan was a recent acquisition and was probably very sparsely settled, for it is not until eighty years later that the names of places there become frequent in the sources. This localization would appear to be incorrect, and probably the reference is to another Chi, lying in the south, on ancient Chin territory near the Fu-shih ford (78) across the Yellow River. When the Duke of Ch'in attacked Chin in 594 he stopped near Fu-shih and dared not proceed further (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 15, p. 326). The Chin emissary later reproached him for "entering our Ho-hsien (79) and burning down our Chi (76) and Kao" (80) (*Tso-chuan*, Ch'eng year 13, p. 380). This Chi is probably to be identified with the Chi referred to for the year 627; it lay on the western border of Chin, near the ford over which both the Ch'in and the Ti had to pass. It was probably on the left bank of the Yellow River, since Ch'in had acquired the right bank in 645 B.C.

This time the defeat of the Ti was complete, for the chief of the White Ti was captured (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 33, p. 223). It is probable that the aggressive campaign of Duke Wen and this battle in particular brought the White Ti under the permanent domination of Chin, against which they rebelled repeatedly without success.

Red Ti raids on the Chinese states from 630 to 594 B.C., and their ultimate subjugation

XIX

When the Chin armies holding off the Red Ti were recalled in 630 in order to proceed against Cheng, the Ti were able to renew their incursions into the Great Plain. In the same year they devastated Ch'i (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 30, p. 214; *Tso-chuan*, p. 214) and in the winter of the following year they swarmed into Wei. They besieged the capital and perhaps took it, because in the twelfth month of that year the Wei capital was moved to Ti-ch'iu (1), a town lying further east (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 31, p. 217). Ti-ch'iu lies in the south-west of Pu-yang district (2) or 70 *li* north-east of Hua-hsien (XVII 41). Wei was in a very difficult situation, having lost most of their territory, but conflicts among the Ti saved them.

Important things appear to have been happening among the Ti during this period, but as usual we know very little about them. All we know is that in 628 the Wei armies invaded Ti territory in the summer, and in the autumn peace was made (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 32, p. 220). This is the explanation given by the *Tso-chuan* (Hsi year 32, p. 220): "Conflict broke out among the Ti in the summer. Men from Wei attacked the Ti, who then asked for peace". This state of internal crisis troubled the Ti for a long time; although they devastated Ch'i the following year (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsi year 33, p. 221), their incursions into Chinese territories ceased for a time — until 623. Then they began harassing eastern China with unwonted audacity ; not only did they raid and loot Wei and Ch'i, as they had done before, but crossed over to the right bank of the Yellow River and carried destruction far to the south, to Sung and Lu.

The main credit for this renewal of Ti power seems to belong to a strong personality of the name of Feng-shu (III 25), who seized the power in the Lu clan and perhaps ruled the whole confederation of Red Ti tribes. We do not know when this happened, but perhaps the conflicts we have mentioned arose in connection with his rise to power. He appeared as the dictator of the Red Ti in the year 620 B.C., at any rate. The relevant pasage in our source is unfortunately highly suspect. Lu is said to have complained to Chin about Ti raids on their territory, and Chao Tun (3) the First Minister of Chin is said to have sent emissaries headed by Chia Chi (4) to censure Feng-shu for his attacks on Chinese territory. Since however we know that Chia Chi was the deadly enemy of Chao Tun, whom he had driven from Chin, the anecdote was probably invented in order to introduce a comparison between Chao Tun and Chao Ts'ui (5) (*Tso-chuan*, Wen year 7, p. 247). It is beyond doubt, though, that tradition linked the renewal of raids by the Ti after 620 with the name of Feng-shu. This is clear not only from this anecdote, but also from the legend discussed earlier (p. 27) about the giant killed in Lu in 616, and accepted as the brother of Feng-shu, as were all giants in the legends. This account would suggest that a bold company of raiding warriors had seized power among the Ti, inciting them to far-flung adventures.

The chief role in this company may have been played by Feng-shu and his family. For twenty-six years the whole of China trembled in horror before this company, speaking with awe and admiration of the Ti leader's abilities and also of his faults, especially his drinking, his godlessness and his acts of violence (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 7, p. 326). The rulers of the Lu clan were probably set aside and the last of them was deposed by Feng-shu, which gave Chin the excuse to intervene and annihilate the whole tribe.

For the time being, however, the Ti were bolder than ever. In 623 B.C. they devastated Ch'i (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Wen year 4, p. 237) and from 620 onwards the raids were almost without interruption. The Ti received some help from Chin; in the troubles which broke out there on the death of Duke Hsiang, Chia Chi (4) took the whole of his powerful family Hu (XVIII 24) and went over to the Ti in 621 (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Wen year 6, p. 242; *Tso-chuan* p. 243). The sources do not say explicitly that he went to the Red Ti, but the anecdote quoted above, about the censuring of Feng-shu, allows us to suppose it was so. Angry at his rival Chao Tun, who had assumed the entire power in Chin, Chia Chi incited the Ti against Chin and the Chin allies in the Great Plain (*Tso-chuan*, Wen year 13, p. 262, where the desirability of recalling Chia Chi from the Ti is discussed).

Chin was unable to do anything against the Ti, however, being attacked at the same time by the Ch'in, who supported Yung (7) the pretender to the throne against the claims of Duke Ling (6); Chao Tun kept himself in power only by executing his opponents, and could not even prevent Ch'u from breaking up the Chin league.

In 620 B.C. the Ti invaded the western region of Lu (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Wen year 7, p. 246; *Tso-chuan* p. 247); in the summer of 618 they again invaded Ch'i (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Wen year 9, p. 252); and in the winter of 617 they invaded Sung (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Wen year 10, p. 255 and *Tso-chuan* p. 255). They raided this southern state with such thoroughness that Ch'u thought the moment had come to humiliate their ancient rival. In 616 the Ti, looting as they went, crossed Ch'i and invaded Lu, devastating the country and carrying booty back with them. The Lu army caught up with them at Hsien (8), however, and led by Shu-sun Te-ch'en (III 4) defeated them. According to the *Ch'un-ch'iu ti-ming pu-chu*, 5, 1a, Hsien is within the southern boundaries of Chü-yeh district (9), in Ts'ao-chou region, Shan-tung. Of this battle it is said that one of three giant Ti were captured, and that Shu-sun Te-ch'en named his sons after them (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Wen year 11, p. 257; *Tso-chuan*, Hsiang year 30, p. 552). We can see how the terrible Ti raids worked on the minds of the people, who imagined the barbarians as giants in their tales.

The invasions of Lu and Sung were not repeated, for they were dangerous undertakings over too long a distance; the booty had to be carried over the

Yellow River and a long way across the plain, where Chinese war chariots could easily catch up with the warriors. The Ti now contented themselves with raiding in the vicinity and with local fighting and attacks on the Wei, Ch'i and Chin.

In the winter of 614 the Ti invaded Wei (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Wen year 13, p. 262) and apparently kept Chin under constant menace. The council of ministers in Chin considered recalling Chia Chi from the Ti, since it looked as though all the difficulties were mainly the result of the intrigues he was carrying on there. The all-powerful Chao family would not hear of this, however (*Tso-chuan*, Wen year 13, p. 262). In 614 things became easier for Chin, because the pretender Shih-huei (10) returned from Ch'in. Chin once more took an active part in the affairs of the Great Plain and perhaps even took steps against the Ti, for there were no more raids until 606. A year earlier, in 607, trouble had broken out again in Chin; Duke Ling had grown up by that time, and the regency of Chao Tun was not to his liking. He tried to have him assassinated but the plot failed and Ling himself was killed.

The Ti seem to have thought this heralded confusion in Chin again, and took the opportunity to invade Ch'i (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan year 3, p. 291), but things settled down quickly. Chao Tun put son of the popular Duke Wen on the throne, Duke Ch'eng (11). The Ti repeated their incursion into Ch'i once more, in the summer of 605 (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan year 4, p. 294), but then their attacks on the states of the Great Plain stopped for good. The struggles against Chin which had occupied them for several years had exhausted their strength. The Ti did not dare to stand up to the main Chin base in Ch'in-shui, but revenged themselves in flank attacks on their outlying territories in what is now Ho-nan, which had been acquired by Duke Wen in 635. In 603 the Ti raided this region and besieged the town of Chin, Huai (12) and Hsing-ch'iu (13) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 6, p. 298). According to *Ch'un-ch'iu ti-min pu-chu*, 56b, this was one and the same place, originally called Hsing-ch'iu and later Huai. Today it is the old town of P'ing-kao (14). According to *Ch'un-ch'iu ti-li k'ao-shih* ch. 253, p. 19a, it lies 70 *li* south-east of Ho-nei, that is to say not far to the south-west of Wu-chih (XVIII 71). Ho-nei is now Ch'in-yang (V 17). According to the *Tso-chuan* p. 298, there were clearly two places, for the names are linked by the conjunction *chi* (15), "and". Chin had not yet dared to strike final blow against the Ti, because their position seemed unassailable (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 6, p. 298).

The troubles of the Ti were heightened by a natural catastrophe; in 602 there was a great drought (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan year 7, p. 299) and Shan-hsi was covered in loess which soaked up every trace of moisture as now. In rainy years the soil always gave a crop and sometimes even a good harvest, but in times of drought the sprouting grain died and famine followed. In the Ti territories the drought must have been a disaster; their struggle against the Chin made it out of the question to attack the eastern states, and so they attempted to get supplies from enemy territory. Towards the end of the summer they invaded Chin territory in Ho-nan and tried to carry off the standing grain in Hsiang-yin (16) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 7, p. 299; *Ch'un-ch'iu ti-li k'ao-shih* ch. 253, p. 19a, tries to place

Hsiang-yin in the south-west of the present Ch'i-yüan district (17), because there is a town called Hsiang there).

The Chin struggle against the Ti finally achieved success. The masses of the people, reduced to the level of serfs by the aristocratic Red Ti clans, were tired of fighting an endless war for them. They rebelled and submitted themselves to Chin. It would appear that the Chin emissary Ch'i Ch'eng-tzu (18) first persuaded them secretly to play traitor, and then, to protect them from Red Ti vengeance, the Duke of Chin himself was to lead an army into Ti territory and accept them as his vassals. After some hesitation he did so and somewhere in Ti territory, in Ts'uan-han (19) the rebels gathered in the year 598 B.C. and accepted Chin as their overlord (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan year 11, p. 308; *Tso-chuan* p. 309).

This broke the power of the Red Ti, and the few tribes which remained were no more than islands in the Chin sea and had not the strength to take any action with regard to Chin. The latter could not take immediate steps to put the finishing touches to their victory and subdue the most important group, because the affairs of the Great Plain took too much of their attention. Then in the year 597 Chin suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Ch'u at Pi (20) (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan year 12, p. 311).

This defeat put a temporary stop to Chin hegemony in the Great Plain, and the states submitted to Ch'u, nevertheless in fact Chin was not weakened. Freed from the effort and expense of all-China policy, Chin could turn attention to expeditions against the barbarians again, and it is even probable that the great families of Chin preferred these campaigns to the large-scale all-China operations because territory conquered from the barbarians was given to them in fief, thus multiplying the wealth and power of their houses.

The Red Ti made a mistake when they took the advice of Hsien Hu (21), who had been responsible for the defeat at Pi and feared retribution, and in the autumn of 596 invaded Chin. At first they won no little success, penetrating far into the country. They got as far west as the Ch'ing plateau (22), not far from where the river Fen flows into the Yellow River, and were thus able to loot the most fertile part of Chin (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 13, p. 322). This was no more than a passing success, however, and proved to the Chin that an enemy which thus took advantage of every passing moment of weakness or defeat to invade them must be destroyed for good. Action could not be taken at once, but at least the real or imagined instigator of the invasion Hsien Hu was punished, killed with the whole of his family in the winter of that year (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 13, p. 322). Events in the plain took the Chin armies to the south once more, in an attempt to curb the expansive tendencies of Ch'u by a feeble attack on their ally Cheng, in 595 (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan year 14, p. 323; *Tso-chuan* p. 323). Chin then gave up all-China politics and even when Ch'u laid siege to the capital of Chin's most loyal ally, Sung, in 594, made no move to help.

Chin had decided to annihilate the Red Ti. This was an excellent moment to choose, for fighting had broken out between Feng-shu and Ying-erh (XVIII 10), the ruler of the Lu clan. The latter was perhaps sick of Feng-shu's uninterrupted rule, which had brought only disaster on the Ti; he knew that constant warfare with Chin must inevitably lead to the annihilation of the Ti, and wanted to come to terms. He took to wife the elder sister of Duke Ching of Chin (who ruled from 599 to 581). Feng-shu rid himself of the Duke by force, killing the Chin princess and wounding Ying-erh in the eye (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 15, p. 326). Ying-erh may have asked the Chin for aid.

The council of ministers in Chin did not know how to decide: the long years Feng-shu had reigned and the successes he had achieved had won for him the respect of the Chinese states, and some advised waiting for his death. The distance and the difficulty of such a far-flung expedition also probably weighed as an argument; the Chin army with its chariots would have to pass through country where the loess was scarred by deep ravines, easily held against an army by a mere handful of men. Most of the ministers voted against the campaign, and only Po Tsung (23) insisted on it. It is significant that this same Po Tsung was against sending help to Sung when that ally was attacked by the Ch'u. It is clear that there was a direct connection between the desertion of an all-China policy and the initiation of the campaign against the Ti. Po Tsung pointed out that Feng-shu's position had already been shaken, that he was old and that they should not give his successor time to strengthen his forces. Po Tsung's arguments won the day (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 15, p. 326).

The campaign was begun with the maximum caution; Hsün Lin-fu (24) was put in charge of the expedition, the finest Chin general in spite of his defeat at Pi. The Chin army did not attack the inaccessible Lu valley direct, but marched on to the Ho-nan Chin territory and made a flanking movement round the T'ai-hang range, and fell on the Ti in the Great Plain, in Ho-pei. At this time Wei was allied to Chin and allowed the army to pass through.

The route followed by the Chin army has not been recorded in the sources, but the succession of events suggests the route we propose here: the Ti army was first defeated in Ho-pei and only then were the tribes in Lu-an destroyed. If the army had proceeded straight through to Lu-an basin, this order would have been reversed.

It was a well-thought-out plan. Cut off by the state of Chin to the west and north-west, the Red Ti were faced by the Chin army in the east and south, and perhaps by their own disloyal vassals; they were condemned to die of hunger in their mountain retreat. Feng-shu realised the danger, and coming down into the Great Plain he tried to break the encirclement. His armies were powerless against the Chin forces, trained in the endless fighting against Ch'u, Ch'in, and various barbarian tribes. The Chin were certainly superior in numbers, for they could put as many as seventy thousand men in the field at this time of need.

In spring, in the sixth month, on the day *kuei-mao*, the Red Ti forces were annihilated at Ch'ü-liang (25), now Yung-nien district (26) in Ho-pei. It was a complete defeat; Hsün Lin-fu did not waste time mopping up the remnants of the Ti in the Great Plain, but aimed an attack at the very centre of their power. Following the Chang-ho upstream, he entered the Lu basin, a bold design that was highly successfully carried out. Feng-shu fled to Wei, but was handed over to Chin where he was executed. The Lu clan was partially annihilated and partially subdued. Prince Ying-erh was not restored to the Lu throne, but taken to Chin (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan year 15, p. 325; *Tso-chuan* p. 326). The independence of the Ti was over. The whole campaign, the march from Ch'ü-liang to Lu, and the annihilation of the Lu clan, took Hsün Lin-fu a mere eight days (*Tso-chuan* p. 326: "The Ti were defeated on the day *Kuei-mao*, wiped out on the day *Hsin-hai*".).

Chin had not expected such an easy victory, and had prepared another army on the well-known Chi exercise ground (27), where the great autumn military parades were held. This army, commanded by the Duke in person, was to attack the Ti in the rear, but things never came to that. The Lu territory was already occupied by Hsün Lin-fu and all the Duke had to do was to march through the Ti lands and restore to the throne the Duke of Li (A 1), ruler of the remnant of the original inhabitants, who had been driven from the land by Feng-shu; he then returned home (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 15, p. 326).

It is possible that the song Mao-ch'iu (28, L Ch Cl IV 1, p. 59) refers to the Duke of Li being driven out; the Short Foreword says of it (L Ch Cl IV, Prolegomena 43): "The Ti had driven out the marquis of Li, who was consequently living for the time in Wei. But (the marquis of) Wei could not discharge his duty as the Chief of a region, banding together and leading other states for common service; and the ministers of Li therefore thus reproved Wei."

The hints in this song are of course so vague that it would be difficult to see in them references to any specific actual event. Nevertheless the attitude of the author of the Foreword is striking, and there is no need to refuse to accept it as B. Karlgren did (1950 B, p. 24).

Meanwhile Chin had also to ward off an attack by Ch'in, who apparently thought Chin too taken up with the campaign against the Ti to be capable of defence. Duke Huan and his army advanced to the well-known Fu-shih ford, burned a few townships along the Yellow River, Chi (XVIII 76) and Kao (XVIII 80), but did not dare to go any further. The Chin army came out to the attack and defeated the Ch'in force (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 15, p. 326; cf. also p. 380). Chin could then tidy up the affairs of Ti. The victorious Hsün Lin-fu was awarded land with a thousand serf families. Some of the booty from Ti territory was also sent to the King of Chou, which is a sign of how highly Chin valued their victory over the Ti (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 15, p. 327).

In the winter of the following year the Chin army again set out (593 B.C.) to subdue the remaining tribes. The commander was Shih Hui (10). Once again operations began in the Great Plain; here the Chia clan (XVII 22) was finally reduced, and then the resistance of the Ti in the valleys of the Lu-an basin was broken. The tribes Liu-yü (XVIII 13) and To-ch'en (XVIII 14) were subdued (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan year 16, p. 329) and of the Red Ti only the Ch'iang-kao-ju clan (II 34) remained undefeated.

In the third month Shih Hui could already present the Ti captives to his lord, who was so delighted that he asked the Chou king to award the symbols of honour to the victorious general: a sacrificial apron *fu* (29) and ceremonial cap *mien* (30). He also put him in command of the central army with the title of *t'ai-fu*, "high minister" (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 16, p. 330).

The security of the new territory made it essential to subdue the Ch'iang-kao-ju as well, and in 588 another expedition was sent out. Chin considered this campaign so dangerous that auxiliaries were asked for from the allied Wei. Together the armies moved into Ch'iang-kao-ju territory in the autumn, with Ch'i K'o (31) in command of the Chin army and Sun Liang-fu (32) in command of the Wei contingent. The Ch'iang-kao-ju did not put up much resistence and were subdued in a short time; in the eleventh month of that same year the Wei commander was already far to the south, concluding an alliance with Lu (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Ch'eng year 3, p. 350; *Tso-chuan* p. 351).

The subjection of the Red Ti meant a remarkable territorial expansion for Chin, who now had in their power the whole of the mountainous south-east region of Shan-hsi, south of the road from T'ai-yüan to the Great Plain. Of much greater value, economically, was the country in the Ho-pei plain at the foot of the T'ai-hang-shan, which had earlier been taken by the Ti from Hsing and Wei. Chin did not return this region to its former masters, but simply annexed it. We can see this from the fact that the towns in this region are recorded as being in hands of Chin after the year 594 B.C. Chin now held Chao-ko (XVII 34), the former Wei capital (550 B.C.) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsiang year 23, p. 498) together with the surrounding places like Po-ch'üan (33), seven *li* north-west of Hui-hsien (XVII 36) in Wei-hui region (496 B.C.) (*Tso-chuan*, Ting year 14, p. 787); Chüeh-yin (34) near Hsin-hsiang (35) in the same prefecture (531 B.C.) (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Chao year 11, p. 631) and Chung-mou (XVII 55) west of T'ang-yin (XVII 33) in Chang-te region (501 B.C.) (*Tso-chuan*, Ting year 9, p. 772). Chin had acquired all the lands on the left bank of the Yellow River from the Chang-te prefecture in the north to the river Heng-shui, i.e. all the north-eastern part of the earlier Wei territory and the whole territory of what had been the state of Hsing.

This expansion on the part of Chin was but one more step towards the country's fall. The new territories were given in fief to the powerful families, who could then all the more easily resist the power of the Duke, away in their inaccessible valleys. Among wild barbarians they could always find the troops they needed. The great house of Chung-hang (36), for instance, a branch of the Hsün family which as we have already seen had acquired under Hsün Lin-fu large feudal holdings in Ti territory, relied on these very Ti in their struggles against the other Chin families. When their town Chao-ko was being besieged in 496 two of their officers commanded a Ti army which attacked the Chin capital, Chiang. They penetrated into the town but were defeated in street fighting and scattered (*Tso-chuan*, Ting year 14, p. 786). It is significant that when the forces of the Chung-hang and the allied Fan family (IV 19) were defeated in the same year, it was in the former centre of the Red Ti, Lu (XVIII 7) (*Tso-chuan*, Ting year 14, p. 787).

The Red Ti were not wiped out by the Chin victory; I have already mentioned that they took part in the civil war in Chin at the beginning of the fifth century.

Their military services were frequently used by Chin even before that. In the year 589 they were already fighting in the Chin army, which was only shortly after they had been subdued and before the defeat of the Ch'iang-kao-ju; they took part in the battle of An (37), against Ch'i. Their still unbroken resistance may have explained why they let the Duke of Ch'i escape (*Tso-chuan*, Ch'eng year 2, p. 340). Chin also used the Ti for police work. When Chin seized Chi-sun I-ju (38) of Lu in 529 B.C. he was guarded in a tent by Ti. The Ti do not seem to have been suitable for this form of service, because they let themselves be bought off by cool drinks and soft silks, and allowed the prisoner's page into the tent (*Tso-chuan*, Chao year 13, p. 646). Then again, in the year 563 during the siege of Pi-yang (39) one Ti Szu-mi (40), who seems to have been a Ti by origin, displayed unusual strength, using instead of a shield a chariot-wheel covered in leather; alone he took the part of a whole company (*Tso-chuan*, Hsiang year 10, pp. 442-443).

We know practically nothing about what happened to them after the civil war which broke out in Chin in the first decade of the fifth century, and in which they took an active part. Our sources fail us for this period. The Ti probably never lost their wild and warlike nature, and more than two centuries after they had been subdued we find them defeating the state of Wei (VII 5), the most powerful of the successor states formed in Chin, on the little river of Kuai (41), or on the mountain of the same name, in 378 B.C. The river Kuai rises in the foothills of the mountain Wu-ling (42) in the south of I-ch'eng (IV 12) in P'ing-yang region (*Ch M H V*, p. 148 and Note 5). In the *Shih-chi* (44, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao cheng*, p. 13) the Ti here are called Red Ti (II 65). When the state of Chin was broken up the Red Ti territory came to Wei and the Ti may have rebelled at this time, for some reason or other. It took a very long time for the Chinese to assimilate these varied alien groups in the north; the process was accelerated by the terrible wars of the "Warring States" period, which were very often fought over this region. The age which saw the formation of the first Chinese Empire also drew the definite frontiers of the Chinese nation in the north.

The subjugation of the Western Ti and the T'ai-yüan basin

XX

Thanks to their favourable location the White Ti remained relatively independent longer than the Red Ti. For a long time Chin did not dare to enter the Lo valley, for in case of defeat retreat could easily be cut off by the permanently hostile Ch'in. Chin seems rather to have looked for friendly means of allying the Ti. As we have already seen, Duke Hsien took his wives from western barbarian tribes and on one occasion a Chin orator reproached his audience because whereas between the White Ti and Chin the *jus connubii* reigned, between the Ti and Ch'in there was only enmity (*Tso-chuan*, Ch'eng year 13, p. 380).

This would suggest that the Ch'in, too, had attempted to expand their power among the Ti, but there is no other evidence of this. The Ch'in seem to have been less of a threat, however, occupied as they were with the hostile Western Jung; their policy seems to have concentrated rather on winning the region where the Wei flows into the Yellow River, and less on spreading into the Lo basin behind the hills to the north. We have no record, at any rate, of struggles between the Ti and the Ch'in, except for those occasions on which the Ti acted as allies of Chin.

After the defeat at Chi (XVIII 76) in 627 B.C., we hear nothing of the White Ti for twenty years. When their chief was captured on that occasion they may have been subjugated by Chin to a certain degree. Towards the end of the century they seem to have made an effort to throw off the Chin yoke, for before the year 601 they were at war with Chin, concluding hostilities with a peace in the spring of that year. In the following summer they accompanied the Chin on an expedition against Ch'in (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan year 8, p. 301; *Tso-chuan*, p. 301). This in itself suggests a certain degree of dependence upon Chin. The Ti made several attempts to throw off the Chin yoke when the hostility between Chin and Ch'in gave them the opportunity. Allying themselves with Ch'in in 582 they accompanied the Ch'in army on an expedition against Chin (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Ch'eng year 9, p. 368; *Tso-chuan*, p. 370). We know nothing of the course of this war, but the Ti probably found themselves under the Chin again, for they made yet another attempt to throw off this domination. In 560 peace was to be made between Chin and Ch'in, and the two rulers, Huan of Ch'in and the new Duke Li of Chin were to meet in Ling-hu (1) on the left bank of the Yellow River, to agree on the conditions of a peace treaty. The Duke of Chin arrived first; the Duke of Ch'in was probably afraid of an ambush, and did not want to cross the river; he remained in Wang-ch'eng (2), sending his astrologer *shih* (3) to conclude peace. As soon as he got back home, however, he broke the conditions of the peace, so recently concluded, and started inciting the Ch'u and the White Ti against the Chin (*Tso-*

chuan, Ch'eng year 11, p. 375). At any rate, a Chin orator later reproached the Ch'in for inviting the Chin to attack the Ti after the peace of Ling-hu, to which the Chin agreed in spite of their friendly relations with the Ti, and in the meantime the Ch'in warned the Ti that the Chin meant to attack them. He went on to say that after the peace of Ling-hu the Ch'in incited the Ti and the Ch'u against Chin (*Tso-chuan*, Ch'eng, year 13, p. 380). The Ch'in were presumably successful in their incitement to revolt, for in 579 the Ti took advantage of the absence of the Duke of Chin, who had gathered the Chinese princes in Sung, and attacked Chin territory. As usual they began to loot the country, but their very thoughtlessness brought about their defeat. The Chin army took them by surprise and defeated them at Chiao-kang (4), which is not otherwise identified (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Ch'eng year 12, p. 377; *Tso-chuan*, p. 377). The following year Chin determined to put the Ch'in in their place once and for all; gathering a powerful army, and accompanied by reinforcements from the Lu, Ch'i, Sung Wei, Ts'ao, Chu, Cheng and T'eng, they crushed the Ch'in army at Ma-suei (5), crossed the river Ching and reached the heart of Ch'in territory (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Ch'eng year 13, p. 379; *Tso-chuan*, pp. 379–381).

Nothing is said of any expedition against the White Ti, who had probably returned to accept Chin rule. We hear of them only on two further occasions, in 555 when a White Ti mission was sent to the Lu (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsiang year 18, p. 475) and in 545 when the White Ti arrived with other delegations to pay their respects at the court of Chin (*Tso-chuan*, Hsiang year 28, p. 536). They seem to have retained a measure of independence but no longer to have been a danger to Chin. In 575 B.C. Chin was indeed able to declare proudly that the Ti were subdued and powerless (*Tso-chuan*, Ch'eng year 16, p. 391).

At some date unknown, later on, Shang marches (VII 1) were created from the former territory of the White Ti, and when Chin was divided up this territory came to Wei, who gave it to Ch'in in 328 B.C. (Ch M II V, p. 160). Remnants of the Ti probably survived there for a long time, for as we have already seen, one of the states which arose on the ruins of the Ch'in empire, with its capital in eastern Shen-hsi, was called the "Ti kingdom" (see p. 53 above). The extinction of the Ti in this area, and their assimilation to the Chinese, were probably hastened considerably by the constant warfare between Ch'in and Wei, warfare which was exceptionally devastating and bloody, and from which this region suffered above all.

Some of the White Ti, who had settled on the right bank of the Lo, were subdued by the Ch'in, but we do not know when this occurred. It must be deduced, however, from the fact that the river Lo came to be recognised as the boundary between Wei and Ch'in.

After the Red and the White Ti had both been subjugated the Chin turned their eyes northward. We have already seen that Duke Wen subdued at least part of the T'ai-yüan basin, and gradually this fertile region was colonized. The process was hampered by the Wu-chung, who held the northern area, and they may have been in league with some remnant Ti tribes, for in the *Tso-chuan*

(Chao year 1, p. 572) we read that Hsün Wu defeated the Wu-chung and *ch'ün* Ti (7), "the other Ti", at T'ai-yüan. The Ti are repeatedly mentioned in narratives, and were probably a great nuisance to the colonists. Chin probably welcomed heartily the emissary of Chia-fu (8) the Duke of Wu-chung. Meng Lo (9), who was sent to Chin in the year 569 to ask through Wei Chiang (10) that "Chin should maintain good relations with all the Jung". He presented the Duke with tiger and leopard skins. Wei Chiang earnestly exhorted the Duke to make peace, pointing out that this would bring security to the frontier and especially that the nomad Wu-chung could be persuaded to give Chinese colonists land. "The Jung and the Ti are always moving about and are glad to exchange land for goods". It was probably similar economic and trade arguments that moved the Wu-chung to seek good relations with Chin. The trade route from the nomad tribes into China had probably led through the T'ai-yüan basin from ancient times; it is still important today. It was along this route that precious furs were brought into China. War was bad for trade, and since the Wu-chung benefited from trade they were anxious for a peace.

The Duke accepted Wei Chiang's views gladly, and charged him with concluding agreements with "all the Jung" (*Tso-chuan*, Hsiang year 4, p. 422). In the *Shih-chi* ch. 14 (ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 85) we read under the year 569: "Wei Chiang arranged for peace with the Jung and the Ti. The Ti came to pay their respects to Chin". This is also proof that the Ti were living in the T'ai-yüan basin alongside the Wu-chung.

This peace policy was a good investment, and there are increasingly frequent references to Chin towns in the T'ai-yüan basin from this year onward. In 555 we hear of Keng-yang (11), west of Hsü-kou (12) in the T'ai-yüan region, where there is mention of a talented shaman (*Tso-chuan*, Hsiang year 18, p. 476); in 552 there are repeated references to Ch'i ta-fu (13), the "lord of Ch'i", eight *li* to the south-east of Ch'i-hsien (*Tso-chuan*, Hsiang year 21, p. 488) and in 540 we read of Chung-tu (14), twelve *li* north-west of P'ing-yao (15) (*Tso-chuan*, Chao year 2, p. 582). A tradition has it that for his clever diplomacy Wei Chiang was given half the music-girls the Duke of Chin had received from Cheng at the Hsiao-yü conference (16) in 562 (*Tso-chuan*, Hsiang year 11, p. 450–451). It is easy to understand Wei Chiang's interest in the proceedings when we realise that he came of a family which had held the northern Huo territory (IV 24) for generations, and was therefore in very close contact with the northern barbarians. Wei Chiang's father, Wei Tao-tzu (17), had made Huo his capital (Ch M H Y, p. 135). It is of course probable that the Wei family had held Huo for some time even before that, perhaps from the time when it was conquered by Duke Hsien of Chin round about 661 B.C. (*Tso-chuan*, Min year 1, p. 123). The negotiations with the Wu-chung already show that contacts with the barbarians were already largely a matter for the powerful lords whose fiefs lay in the neighbourhood. The interests of the whole state, which had formerly caused and directed the fighting against the Ti, were no longer taken into account, and the warfare now became a colonial, frontier question.

In 541 the agreement with the Wu-chung was broken; in order to ensure their rule over this fertile country the Chinese had to drive the unsettled tribes out of it. The Wu-chung could only put up a fight in the foothills of the northern range. The commander of the Chinese forces in T'ai-yüan was Hsün Wu (6), but we know practically nothing about the course of this war except that the Wu-chung were defeated in a decisive battle at Ta-lu (XVII 2) (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Chao year 1, p. 568). The *Tso-chuan* (Chao year 1, p. 572) called the place T'ai-yüan and the *Ku-liang-chuan* commentary (Chao year 1) says that this was the barbarian name for T'ai-yüan (see above, pp. 142ff). An interesting point about this battle is the change in Chinese military tactics, fighting a new enemy in an unfamiliar environment. Like the Northern Jung and perhaps the Ti, the Wu-chung fought on foot, and the Chin army had also to change into an infantry force, in the mountains of Shan-hsi.

The battle was to take place in a ravine, which was a favourable terrain for the Wu-chung. On the advice of Wei Shu (18), Hsün Wu sent his warriors in on foot. Wei Shu came of the family which held Huo, and probably was well acquainted with the manner of fighting among the barbarians. To fight on foot was something unusual, indeed humiliating, and Hsün Wu's favourite refused to obey the order; Wei Shu had him beheaded.

Wei Shu arranged his forces in an unfamiliar formation, employing new tactics; the wings were moved forward, in two squares, while the centre was made up of a mere two ranks of fighters. There were three strong ranks on the left and one on the right, placed so as to form a semi-circle together with the squares. Behind the weak centre formation Wei Shu kept a reserve of five ranks, which was very strong. The Wu-chung laughed at the Chinese for pushing their flanks forward unprotected and leaving a weak centre formation far back; they rushed haphazardly at the enemy, attacking the weak centre while the forces on the flanks resisted quite well with the cliffs at their back. The centre lines and the weak right line were easily broken through, and the whole Chinese army moved to the left which was very strong, and the Wu-chung came face to face with the strong, fresh reserve forces. They suddenly realised they had fallen into a trap. The strong reserves on the left (i.e. on the right of the Wu-chung, their unprotected side as they held their shields in the left hand) prevented them from moving forward, while the original centre and left ranks renewed the attack, and the flanking squares closed them in from the rear. They were pressed against the right side of the ravine and crushed completely (*Tso-chuan* p. 572). It was the first battle the Chinese won on foot, and employing new tactics, their strategy somewhat reminding us of the famous left-flanking squadrons of Thebes.

This victory made the rich T'ai-yüan basin safe for the Chinese, and opened the way to the northern tip of the Great Plain.

Ti settlements in the Great Plain

XXI

The subjugation of the Red Ti was a very difficult undertaking, but there were far greater obstacles in the way of subduing the Hsien-yü and other Ti statelets far to the north-east in the Great Plain. Occupation of the Red Ti territories in the Great Plain itself had given the Chin a jumping-off ground from which to attack the Hsien-yü, it is true, but it was too far away from the Chin centres in the Fen valley. This was still the main focus of Chin power, with the T'ai-yüan basin in the north after 540 B.C., but from this latter the Great Plain was difficult of access. The route lay through the basin round what is now P'ing-ting (1), and then across the important pass in the present district of Ching-hsing (2), an important strategic point in ancient times as well.

The Chin territory in the Great Plain was probably called Tung-yang (3), mentioned in the sources as early as 550 B.C., not long after the subjugation of the Red Ti (*Tso-chuan*, Hsiang year 23, p. 498). The *Shui-ching chu* (ed. Szu-pu pei-yao ch. 9, p. 1b) quotes Ma Chi-ch'ang (4) — that is to say Ma Yung (5) — as saying: "The Chin territory north of Chao-ko (XVII 34) as far as Chung-shan was called Tung Yang, the territory south of Chao-ko as far as Chih (6) was called Nan Yang (7)". Of the Chin towns mentioned as being in this area we can fairly safely identify Luan-ch'eng (XVIII 17) south of the present Luan-ch'eng hsien; it is spoken of in 491, as are Hao (8), Hsing (III 1), Jen (9) and a number of other places. In that year Kuo Hsia (10) of Ch'i attacked Chin and captured a number of places (*Tso-chuan*, Ai year 4, p. 804). Po-jen (11) is mentioned in the same connection, because it was to this town that the rebel Hsün Yin (12) was brought.

Somewhat further south than Luan-ch'eng was the town of Chi-p'u (13), identified with the present Chao hsien (14), and referred to in 494 as a Chin town. It was taken by the combined armies of Ch'i, Wei and Hsien-yü, helping the Chung-hang (XIX 36) and Fan (IV 19) families (see above, p. 169) (*Tso-chuan*, Ai year 1, p. 793). Still further south was the town of Hao (8), located in the present Kao-i (15). South of Hao lay the town of Po-jen mentioned above, to the west of the present T'ang-shan hsien (16). Even further south, and apparently in the heart of the former state of Hsing, lay the towns of Hsing (III 1) in the present Hsing t'ai (XVII 23) and to the east of it the town of Jen (9), south-east of where Jen hsien now stands.

Between the territory of the Hsien-yü in the north and the Red Ti who were in command of the former Hsing territory to the south (the region which as we have seen was acquired by Chin), there was probably a frontier belt comprising the statelets of Fei (II 33), seven li west or south-west of the present Kao-ch'en district, and Ku (II 50), whose capital Hsi-yang (17) was apparently on the site of what is now Chin-hsien (XVIII 20). It is my opinion that small independent states of this type were more likely to be formed in a frontier belt, since the Hsien-yü territory was otherwise a fairly homogeneous whole.[37] This delimitation of the southern borders of Chung-shan also follows from the topography of the places belonging to it.

A study of the Hsien-yü towns in the Great Plain suggests their arrival from the west, through the gorges from T'ai-yüan mentioned above and the basin round P'ing-ting. Some of the Hsien-yü towns lay to the south of where this route enters the Great Plain at Ching Hsing (2), mentioned in the sources in 305 B.C. as the important strategic point of Hsing (Ch M H V, p. 85).[38]

Hsing or Ching-hsing was a very important place included among the nine main passes of the empire by the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (ch. 13, ed. Szu-pu ts'ung k'an, p. 2b; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 158); it was constantly being fought over and in 229 B.C., for example, the Ch'in took possession of it while attacking Chao. The *Yüan-ho chün hsien* (ch. 21, p. 4b) records that the mountain Hsing lies 80 *li*

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[37] It is not quite clear where the petty states of Fei and Ku lay. There are four suggestions put forward for the former; according to the Chinese geographical dictionary it was in Shan-hsi, fifty *li* to the east of Hsi-yang-hsien (17), where the old town of Hsi-yang lies, said to be the capital of Fei. The *Ta Ch'ing* agrees with this (ch. 112, p. 8b), on the authority of Tu Yü (XVII 5). The same dictionary gives a possible alternative in the town of Fei-ju-ch'eng (18) in the district of Lu-lung-hsien (XVII 15), or in Fei-lui ch'eng (19), to the south-west of Kao-ch'eng hsien (20), or in yet another Fei in Shang-tung, east of Li-ch'eng-hsien (XVIII 43).

The dictionary seems to consider Hsi-yang the capital of Fei, placing it in Shan-hsi, and mentioning the other three possibilities as places to which the people of Fei moved after their state was annihilated by Chin.

Under another heading, however, the dictionary takes a different point of view. Under Hsi-yang (17) we are told that it was not the capital of Fei, but of Ku, and that it lay not in Shan-hsi but in Ho-pei. This is a very old argument, in which the famous geographer Tu Yü held that Hsi-yong was the capital of Fei, in Shan-hsi. Both sides are summed up in the commentaries to the account given in the *Tso-chuan* (the traditional edition *Shih-san ching* of 1889) of Chin occupation of Hsi-yang in the twelfth year of Chao. Liu Hsüan (21) took a strong stand against Tu Yü, showing by an analysis of the *Tso-chuan* accounts of the annihilation of Fei and Ku that when Hsün Wu (XX 6) pretended to be joining up with the Ch'i army and asked for leave to cross Hsien-yü territory, he must have gone eastwards (or south-eastwards, as he said later), whereas Lo-p'ing or the present Hsi-yang (17) in Shan-hsi lies far to the south-west. He pointed out that it is clear from the story of the cunning way the Chin soldiers rested before the gates of Hsi-yang, and the destruction of Ku, that Hsi-yang was the capital of Ku. These arguments seem to me convincing. The whole story of Hsün Wu's soldiers hiding their weapons and loitering in front of the gates of Hsi-yang as if anxious to buy grain, and then attacking and taking Ku, only makes sense if we assume Hsi-yang to have been the capital of Ku.

Tu Yü thought that the soldiers stood before the gates of Hsi-yang, the capital of Fei, which had already been conquered; then they proceeded to attack Ku. This interpretation implies that the towns lay side by side, and even then has a very improbable ring. The only natural interpretation to put on the passage is that which identifies Hsi-yang with Ku. It is probable that Ku and Fei,were not far from one another, since in 530 Hsün Wu entered Hsi-yang with the clear aim of attacking Fei. It is clear from the *Tso-chuan* account (Chao year 12, p. 636) that both states lay somewhere in the border zone between the Hsien-yü and the Tung-yang. Chin territory in the Great Plain, as Liu Hsüan already pointed out. Hsün Wu, somewhere on the way from T'ai-yüan to the Great Plain, requested permission to cross Hsien-yü territory in order to join up with the Ch'i army. He entered Hsi-yang and put an end to Fei. In other words, Hsi-yang and Fei must have been somewhere on the southern or south-eastern borders of Hsien-yü territory, in the direction of Ch'i. On another occasion the same general marched through Tung-yang territory and his soldiers stopped at the gates of Hsi-yang; in other words Hsi-yang (probably identical with Ku) was somewhere on the northern borders of Chin territory. The suggestion that Hsi-yang and Ku lay in the present district of Chin-hsien (XVIII 20) in Ho-pei fits in with these assumptions; it was put forward in Ying Shao's commentary (23) to the district of Hsia-ch'ü-yang (24), the present Chin-hsien, in the geographical chapter of the *Han-shu* (ch. 28 A, ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, p. 28a). Ying Shao refers to the destruction of Ku by Hsün Wu and adds: "This is now Hsi-yang-t'ing (25) in Ku chü (26), probably something like 'Ku district' ". This was still a living tradition, so that in the Sui period a Chin district bore the name Hsi-yang hsien, later changed to Ku-ch'eng. Liu Hsüan also believed that Fei and Ku both lay in Hsi-yang hsien in Chü-lu (27). The *Ta Ch'ing* (ch. 18, p. 7a) also gives the capital of Ku, Hsi-yang, in Chin-chou.

The petty state of Fei has been identified with the town of Fei-lei (or lui) - ch'eng (19) lying to the south-west (or 7 *li* to the west) of Kao-ch'eng hsien (20) or (28). This identification was suggested by Tu Yü in his commentary on the *Tso-chuan* (Chao year 12) where the destruction of Fei is recorded: disregarding his theory that Hsi-yang was the capital of Fei and lay in the present Hsi-yang in Shan-hsi, he declared that Fei lay in Fei-lui ch'eng, west of Hsia ch'ü-yang hsien (21) in the Chü-lu commandery (27). Fei-lui-ch'eng was already a district in Han times, later abolished. The ancient town of Fei-lui is said to have lain south-west of Kao-ch'eng which was the ancient land of Fei (*Ta Ching* ch. 18, p. 6b). The only reason for locating Fei in Fei-lui seems to have been the similarity of the two names, and the general historical context. Nevertheless we have no reason for not accepting it as approximately correct. It should be noted that even if the identification of Hsi-yang with Ku should be prove dwrong, it would not change the necessity of locating both these petty states in the territory we have delimited here. This is confirmed by another passage about Fei, in the *Shih-chi* (ch. 43, ed. Hui-chu k'ao cheng, p. 95: cf. Ch M II V, p. 128), where we read that in the year 233 the Ch'in army attacked Ch'ih-li (29) and I-an (30). The Chao army hastened to their aid and fought against Ch'in under the walls of Fei. This was the last stage of the struggle between Chao and Ch'in, waged in Ho-pei: the town of I-an also lay south-west of Kao-ch'eng hsien (28) in Cheng-ting-fu. Fei must have been nearby, that is to say in the area we have been dealing with.

38 The identity of Hsing is not absolutely certain; Hsü Kuang in his commentary to the *Shih-chi* 43 (ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng, p. 61) points out that Hsing is only the name of a region or pass and that Ching-hsing is in the Ch'ang-shan commandery (31) while K'u-hsing (32) is in Chung-shan. This town, K'u-hsing, must also have existed before Chung-shan was destroyed by Wei, because the official governing the town was driven out by Li Tui (33) or Li K'e (34) (the names are used promiscuously) who governed Chung-shan after it was conquered, for suggesting an unjust increase in the taxes (see *Han Fei-tzu chi-chieh*, ch. 37, part 3, p. 92). The statement in the *Cheng-i* that Hsing-shan was in Ping-chou (35), 18 *li* south-east of Hsing-hsien, is difficult to interpret, since the Geographical Dictionary gives only Hsing-i hsien (36), identified with K'u-hsing-i (32); the old town of K'u hsing-i lies north-east of the present Wu-chi hsien (37) (see *Ta Ch'ing* 18, 6 b, and the Geographical Dictionary). It would thus seem that it lay in the north-eastern part of Chung-shan, but *Cheng-i* goes on to say that Chao Hsi (38) was in command of the Tai and Chao troops, and that the soldiers turned towards Ching-hsing (2), whereupon they came to the district of Shang-ch'ü-yang (39) in Ting-chou (40). This means that the *Cheng-i* identifies Hsing with Ching-hsing too. This interpretation was accepted by Chavannes (Ch M II V, p. 85, Note 4). I am also of the opinion that this is the place meant.

south-east of the district of Ching-hsing-hsien. According to the *Yüan-ho* the name Ching-hsing came from the high mountains on all sides with a depression in the midst, recalling a well.

To the south-east, or the east of Hsing, lay the town of Shih-i (41), south east of the present Huo-lu-hsien (42) also referred to in the year 305 in the same connection as the preceding town. According to the Geographical Dictionary it was to the south-east of what is now Huo-lu hsien (42). *Ta Ch'ing* gives the same information (18, p. 5a).

In Han times there was a district of the same name here, under the Ch'ang-shan commandery (31) (see *Han-shu* ch. 28 A 11., ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, p. 29 B). It must obviously have been an important place. There was also Feng-lung (43) or Fei-lung-shan (44) south of Huo-lu-hsien (42), mentioned in the same connection in 305. According to the *Kua ti chih* (VII 12), Feng-lung-shan was also called Fei-lung-shan (44), not far from the present Cheng-ting. According to the Geographical Dictionary this mountain resembled a couchant dragon ready to fly into the air, which is why it got the name. On the top of the mountain there were wild crags and a spring. According to the *Yüan-ho* (21, p. 5a) Fei-lung-shan lies 45 *li* south of Huo-lu-hsien.

Somewhat further north-east lay the town of Tung-yüan (47), 8 *li* south of Cheng-ting district (XVIII 18), also mentioned in the year 305. According to the *Ta Ch'ing* (ch. 18, p. 6a) Tung-yüan lies 8 *li* south of Cheng-ting-hsien; it was often mentioned in Han times.

Since the Red Ti had occupied the Great Plain, the Hsien-yü spread mainly to the north and settled on the slopes of the mountain range enclosing the Great Plain from the north-west. They seem to have fortified these hilltops, to protect themselves against raids by the Tai and other tribes from the north-west, and these forts served them as a protection against Chinese expeditions too. The sources mention several such mountain fortresses, like Tan-ch'iu (48), referred to in the same connection, north-west of the present Ch'ü-yang district. This town may have been meant to guard the route over the Heng-shan. Both the Geographical Dictionary and the *Ta Ch'ing* (ch. 34, p. 2b) place the town of Tan-ch'iu north-west of Ch'ü-yang district. *Ta Ch'ing* quotes the Hsien Yin's (49) ***Shih-san chou-chih*** (50) for the statement that there is a place called Tan ch'iu ch'eng in Shang ch'ü yang (39); according to some merely another name for Heng-shan (51); the town was apparently on a hill, hence its name. It had formerly been an independent *hsien*.

Hua-yang (53), which is also mentioned in 305, was right on one of the peaks of the Northern Peak, Pei-yo (52), which is another name for Heng-shan. *Cheng-i*, on the *Shih-chi* ch. 43 (ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng* p. 61) quotes the *Kua-ti-chih*: "The Northern Peak has five names, one of which is Hua-yang-t'ai (53) . . . The Northern Peak is Heng-shan, in Ting-chou (40), 140 *li* north of Heng-yang hsien (54)". This is now Ch'ü-yang-hsien. Ch M H V p. 86, Note 1, locates Heng-shan 140 *li* north-east of Ch'ü-yang and 20 *li* south of Hun-yüan (55) in Ta-t'ung fu.

The Hsien-yü also held the Ch'ih-chih-sai pass (56), also mentioned in 305. This was apparently the old Hung-shang ku-kuan pass (57), 60 *li* north-east of T'ang-hsien (58). All that we know of Ch'ih-chih-sai is based on the commentaries to the *Shih-chi*, ch. 43, (ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng*, p. 61). Another name for the pass was apparently Ju-ch'eng (59). The Hsien-yü seem to have preferred to build their strongpoints on mountains and hilltops, for mountain fortresses or names which reveal that they referred to a hilltop predominate among the places held by them. In the foothills of this range, enclosing the Great Plain from the north-west, lay the arc of Chung-shan towns.

10 *li* to the north-west of the present Ling-shou district (60) was the Hsien-yü capital of the same name, which was important enough for its name to survive until the present day. The old town of Ling-shou, according to *Ta Ch'ing* (ch. 18, p. 6a), lay north-west of the present district of the same name; a district was established here as early as Han times, proving that it was already a place of importance (see *Han-shu*, ed. Wang-Hsien-ch'ien, 28 A2, p. 29b). Tradition places the Hsien-yü centre east of this, in the vicinity of the ancient town of Hsin-shih (61), and there is no reason to doubt this. The ancient town of Hsin-shih lay to the south-west of Hsin-lo hsien (62) and it is here that *Ta Ch'ing* (ch. 18, p. 6b) located the Hsien-yü centre, giving as the authority the commentary of Tu Yü to the *Tso-chuan*, Chao year 12.

The original capital Chung-jen (64) or Chung-shan, which gave the kingdom its name, lay from here to the north, in a valley sheltered on the north by the Heng-shan range and watered by the river K'ou-shuei (63). Chung-shan, so called because there was a gently rounded hill within the town, was apparently about 40 *li* north-west of T'ang district (58), but even the commentators to the *Shui-ching-chu* no longer knew exactly where it was supposed to be.[39]

Not far from Chung-shan lay the town of Tso-jen, mentioned in the first decades of the fifth century B.C. (see below), usually thought to have been 40 *li* north-west of T'ang district. South-west of this town was the strategic point Ch'ü-yang, which was Shang Ch'ü-yang district already in Han times (*Han-shu*, ch. 28 A, 2, ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, p. 30 a). There is still a town of the name there today.

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[39] There are several accounts of the site of Chung-jen (64), or Chung-shan, varying considerably from each other. According to the Geographical Dictionary it lay to the north-west of T'ang-hsien (58), but the old town of T'ang-hsien lay to the north-east of the present town (see *Ta Ch'ing*, ch. 11, p. 1b). Hsü Kuang (*Shih-chi* 43, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng* p. 39) identified Chung-jen with Chung-jen-t'ing in T'ang-hsien. The *Kua ti chih*, quoted there, reads: "The old town of Chung-shan, otherwise called Chung-jen-t'ing, is in Ting-chou, 41 *li* north-east of T'ang district. In the time of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* it was the town of Chung-jen-i (65) and belonged to the Hsien-yü". This is accepted by Chavannes (Ch M H V, p. 57, Note 2). The commentator to the *Tso-chuan*, Chao year 13, places Chung-jen to the north-west of Wang tu-hsien (66). These theories are in sharp conflict; if we ignore the last, which took Wang tu-hsien as its basis, we find one authority locating the town to the north-west and another to the north-east of T'ang-hsien. The argument can be settled by the fairly accurate description of the area given in the *Shui-ching-chu*. The principal text of the *Shui-ching* (ed. Sau-pu pei-yao, ch. 11) describes the source of the K'ou shui accurately as being in the Tai commandery (67) in Ling-ch'iu district

(68) (p. 9a); it then flows south east, to the south of Kuang-ch'ang district (69), and flowing further on in a south-easterly direction passes the district of Ch'ü-yang in the north. Here the river Heng-shui (70) joins it, coming from the west (p. 10b). Flowing on towards the east it passes south of T'ang district. The commentary adds (p. 11a): "The river K'ou flowing towards the east runs south of Tso-jen ch'eng (71)". Ying Shao (72) says: "Tso-jen ch'eng lies 40 *li* north-west of T'ang district". In this district there is the Po (or Pao)shui (73), which is also perhaps called the T'ang-shui. "It rises north-west of the town of Chung-shan". The commentary says: "In the town (i.e. in Chung-shan) there is a little hill on the western side of the town, with a pointed tip like a rounded grain of millet (74 – a frequent name for a hill)." I think this is what the *Ti tao chi*, geographical chapter of the *Chin shu* (75), refers to in the passage: "In Wang-tu district (66) there is a pass of rounded millet (76). Because there is a hill in the town the people call it Chung-shan-ch'eng in popular speech. Because the T'ang-shui runs through the town it is also called Kuang t'ang ch'eng (77). *Chung-shan chi* identifies it with Chung-jen ch'eng. Ching-hsiang Fan (78) says: 'Twenty *li* east of Wang-tu in Chung-shan today there is the ancient town of Chung-jen'. East of the town of Wang-tu there is a town called Yao ku ch'eng (79) and we have no information about Chung-jen. Fan may have thought it was Chung-jen, but the matter is not clear".

Further on (p. 12a ff.) the commentary to the *Shui-ching-chu* gives a fairly detailed description of the course of the K'ou-shui from the point where its tributary the Heng-shui joins it, a point we can determine exactly. There are several small tributaries flowing into the K'ou-shui, one of which, the Ma ni shui (80) rises north-east of Shang Ch'ü-yang ch'eng and joins the K'ou-shui from the right. The latter then flows south from Chung-jen t'ing. This identifies it with the Chung-jen mentioned in the *Tso-chuan*, Chao year 13. It then flows round the tomb of King Ch'ing (81) of Chung-shan on the southern bank, and north of the town of Yo-yang ch'eng (82). The commentary says: "The *Shih-chi* says that Duke Wen of Wei charged Yo Yang to wipe out Chung-shan. This was his old town, built for him by the Chung-shan. The town was therefore given his name." The K'ou-shui flows on eastwards, passing the northern and southern old town of T'ang-hsien, both lying on the northern bank of the K'ou-shui. West of the town is a channel (83) which rises in the plain north-west of the town". The spring shoots into the air and flows away. The people call it T'angshui. It flows eastwards to the north-west corner of the town, where a dam forms it into a lake. It is called T'ang Lake."

In his *Ti li feng-su chi* (84) Ying Shao (72) says: "Forty *li* west of T'ang-hsien lies Chung-jen-t'ing. Nowadays they have set up the district of Chung-jen, Chung-jen hsiang, in this town". This is followed by a long discussion of T'ang-shan and Wang-tu (66) and the distances between them.

The commentary (p. 14a) tells us that T'ang was a town (belonging to) Chung-shan, the capital of Duke Wu, whose surname was the same as that of the Chou. The commentary refutes this, however. When the Chou were no longer powerful, the land was troubled by the Red Ti and Duke Huan of Ch'i, the hegemon of the dukes, marked out the land belonging to the town and sent Kuan Chung to drive away the Jung and the Ti and build up the town to strengthen (his government).

On the basis of the old descriptions we can conclude that both towns, Chung-shan and Tso-jen, lay to the north of the river K'ou, in the region beyond the point where the river Heng joins the K'ou. The town of Tso-jen was probably the more westerly and nearer to the river, while Chung-jen was probably further away. The towns must have been fairly close, because it is said of both that they lay forty *li* to the north-west, or west respectively, of T'ang-hsien. It is not possible to say more definitely where they stood, for no traces seem to have survived. When the *Ta Ch'ing*, ch. 11, describes the ancient monuments in the Pao-ting-fu prefecture it does not mention these towns, nor does it identify them with any existing places. Nor does the *Yüan Ho* mention them in the chapter 22, devoted to Ting-chou. The information in the *Kua ti chih*, like that of Chavannes, is based on an error, reading "north-east of T'ang district" for "north-west".

There is some doubt about how far the Hsien-yü holdings stretched into the plain itself. The presumed settlements of Ku and Fei, round Chin-hsien, are far enough into the plain, and the Hsien-yü town of Ning-chia (86) mentioned in 306 is usually located south-east of the present Shen-hsien (85) (see A. Tschepe 1910, p. 109, Note 2). It is difficult to judge the reliability of this location, for it would mean that the town lay eastwards, beyond the belt of lakes and marshes formed by the Huang-ho in this region, and forming more or less the eastern boundary of Hsien-yü settlement in the Great Plain.

There is even more doubt whether the town of Fu-liu (87) belonged to the Hsien-yü; it is said in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* that Chao won it from Chung-shan shortly before its final destruction (ch. 21, p. 6b). The town of Fu-liu, the name of which survived for a long time in the region, lay 60 *li* south-west of Chi district (IV 22) in Ho-pei, and to attribute it to the Hsien-yü means accepting their settlement not only east of the Huang-ho but close to the very ancient Chin territory of Tung-yang, discussed above.

The Hsien-yü seem to have occupied the whole of the area between the mountain range and the marshes and lakes formed by the Yellow River winding through the Great Plain; they may even have penetrated beyond this marshy belt, for Ning-chia and Mo (88) were already on the east of it.

In the Great Plain the Yellow River divided into two streams, of which the more important, the western stream, also called the Great River Ta-ho (89), flowed further west than the present course of the Yellow River; the inhabitable belt was thus not very wide. This western stream left the present riverbed somewhere east of the present Ch'in-yang hsien (V 17), flowed towards Chi-hsien (90), and on between An-yang-hsien (XVII 38) and Ta-ming-hsien (91); it then probably followed the present bed of the Chang-ho (92) and Hu-t'o-ho (93). In this region the Yellow River formed the great lake of Ta-lu (94), which in ancient times was of far greater extent than what remains of it today, west of Chü-lu district (95). In those days it probably stretched to where Chao (14) and Shen (85) districts now lie.

Beyond the Ta-lu lake the Yellow River split up into nine streams, the famous Nine Rivers (96), of which the most important was the most northerly; it flowed past Ch'ing-yüan-hsien (97) in the east and turned to flow eastwards to the sea, at the present Ch'ang-li district (98).

The eastern stream left the main riverbed where the district of Chün (XVII 70) now lies, in southern Ho-pei; it then flowed in a much more easterly direction, through T'ang-i (99), Ch'ing-p'ing (144), Kao-t'ang (101) as far as P'ing-yüan (102) then entering the bed now followed by the Great Canal, as far as Ts'ang-hsien (103) where it joined the main stream (for this description of the course of the Yellow River I am relying on the sketch in Chavannes (M H I, p. 103, Note 1,) and H. Maspero (1952, p. 338ff.).

The boundaries of Hsien-yü settlement on the north-east adjacent to the state of Yen are less clear. There may be a hint of where these boundaries lay in the report that in 294 B.C. Chao gave Yen the towns of Mo (107) and I (XVII 18) (Ch M II V, p. 95) (See above, p. 144). This was a year after Chung-shan had been definitely conquered, and we can assume that the gift of these towns was a reward to Yen for help given in this struggle. It is not improbable that these towns lay somewhere in the border region between Yen and Chung-shan. The town of Mo is usually located 35 *li* north of the present Jen-ch'iu district (104) while I is probably identical with the present I-hsien in Ho-pei (IV 55). Ch'en Meng-chia (1955, II, p. 122 ff.) wonders whether we should not rather look for the ancient I in Hsiung-hsien (106) instead of in I-hsien but does not venture to take any decision on the point. It is not of primary importance for our subject. Both I and Mo (107) occur in the Han Geography (*Han-shu* ch. 28 A 2, ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, p. 33b) as districts in the Cho commandery (105). The frontier between Chung-shan and Yen may have passed somewhere near these two towns, a suggestion which is confirmed by the *Yüan-ho, chün-hsien* (ch. 22) where Ting-chou is said to have been Hsien-yü territory in *Ch'un-ch'iu* times (p. 1a), while the neighbouring I is said to have belonged to Yen and Chin in *Ch'un-ch'iu* times and to Yen and Chao in *Chan-kuo* times (p. 8a).

It is doubtful whether we should place the town of Ch'iung-yü-chih ch'iu (108) in this region too; it was seized by Chih po (109) in the year 457 (see below). Graphic similarity causes it to be identified with She-yü-ch'eng (110), lying west of the present Lai-shui-hsien (111) in northern Ho-pei. It does not seem very probable that the Chih po would have penetrated so far north at this early date, but it is not of course impossible.

Towards the end of the Warring States period the river I was considered the southern boundary of the state of Yen (*Chan-kuo-ts'e* ch. 29, p. 1a): "To the south (of Yen) are the (rivers) Hu-t'o (112) and I-shui". I is again mentioned as the frontier (ch. 31, p. 3b twice) and finally the famous Ching K'o (113) made his farewells at the river I-shui when on his way to Ch'in (ibid. ch. 31, p. 6b). According to the *Shui-ching-chu* (ch. 11, p. 8a), the river I-shui flowed south from the ancient town of I-hsien; a more exact description is found in Hsü Hsiao-t'ien's edition of the *Chan-kuo* (vol. 2, Yen-ts'e, p. 3): "The I-shui has three tributaries, Chung I (114), Nan I (115) and Pei I (116). The Chung I rises near I-hsien in the Western Mountains, the Pei I to the north-east of I-hsien. The two streams join and are known as the Ju-shui (117). The Nan I rises south-west of I-hsien and somewhere along this river Yen built a Great Wall to serve as a protection against attacks from the south. This is the wall mentioned in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* ch. 29, p. 4b, "as the Great Wall on the I-shui (118)". Ch'en Meng-chia (1955, II, p. 123) gives the site of this Great Wall as follows: the southern tip was south-west of I-hsien, near An-hsin (119), while the eastern tip was near the present Jung-ch'eng (120). The central part stretched south from Jung-ch'eng and north from Hsü-shui (121) and Jen-ch'iu (104). It is of course likely that this wall was not built until after the conquest of Chung-shan, when Yen acquired the town of I and the land around it, so that the river I became the frontier of Yen. Previously the territory had been held by the Hsien-yü. We have already (p. 144) attempted to show that this area was probably ancient Yen territory which the Ti had seized when their migrations brought them into the Great Plain in the seventh century B.C.

Probably the Hsien-yü seized most of the territory in the region which had previously belonged to Yen, and it is not impossible that all the land in the K'ou valley had originally belonged to Yen. There may be a connection here with the tradition that the town of T'ang was originally a Yao fief (see *Shui-ching-chu*, ed. Szu-pu pei-yao, ch. 11, p. 13a, and Ch M H I, p. 42, Note 1) while elsewhere it was identified with the town of Yang (122), attributed to Yen. The *Ch'un-ch'iu* (Chao year 12, p. 635) records that Kao Yen (123) of Ch'i commanded the army which established the count of Northern Yen in Yang. The commentary says that Yang is T'ang, apparently another Yen town. "The text does not say that it belonged to Yen because the pretender had not yet seized the capital." Naturally the identification of Yang and T'ang is questionable, but even if the town really was T'ang, it is unlikely that a town in the very heart of Hsien-yü territory belonged to Yen. The count of Yen might have been left there for a time, to await the appropriate moment to get into Yen. It is interesting to note that the *Tso-chuan* adds here that the count was brought to the town "on account of the populace" (p. 636), which would suggest that the people felt kindly towards Yen, and confirm our hypothesis that this was originally Yen territory.

In this territory, protected on all sides by mountain ranges and by marshes, the Ti could feel safe. In such favourable conditions they probably took up agriculture and judging from the numbers of their towns they probably achieved a relatively high cultural level. Yet they did not lose their fighting spirit, and it took a hundred and twenty years before they were subjugated.

XXII

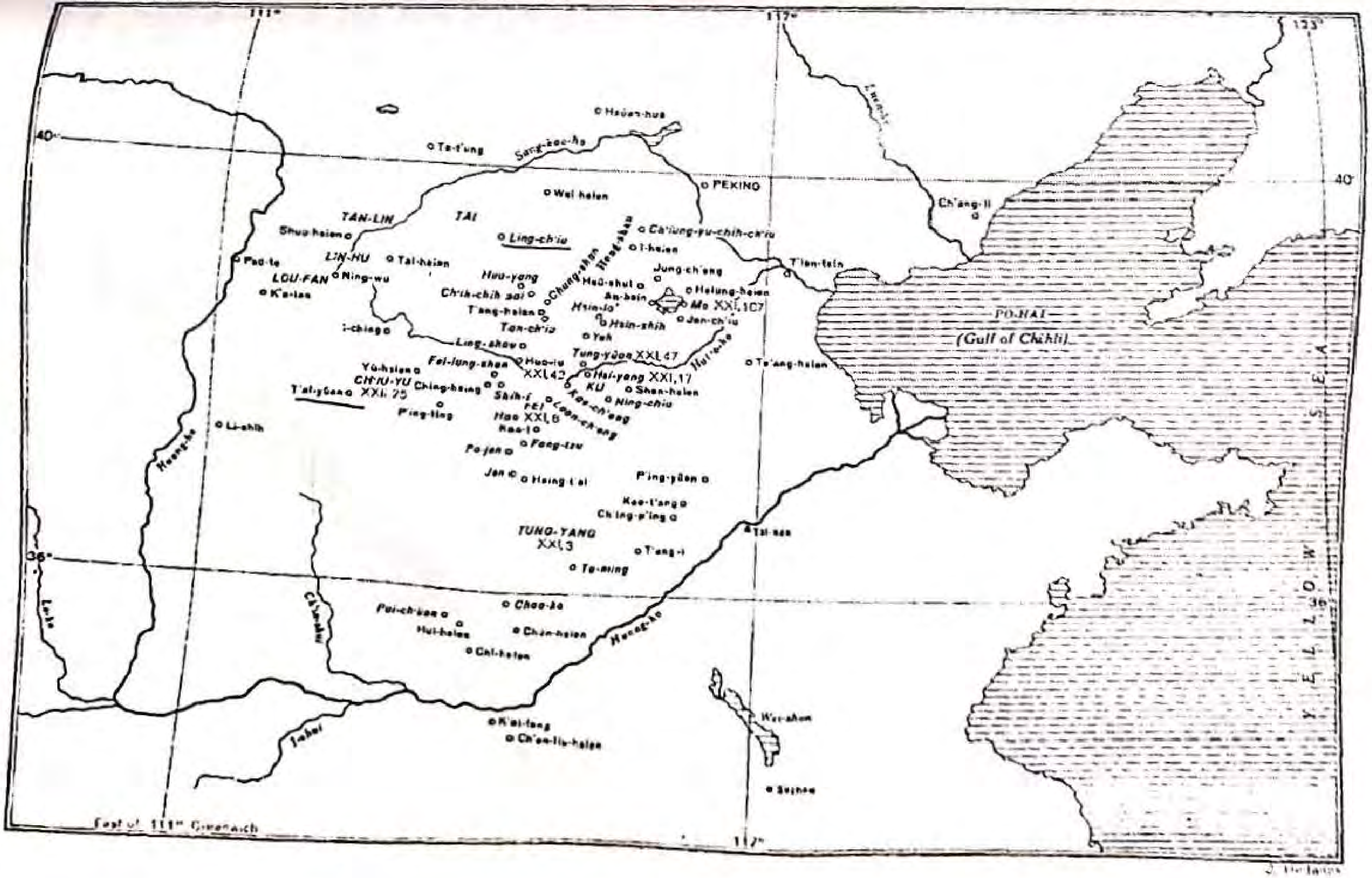
The subjugation of the Hsien-yü

Not long after the defeat of the Wu-chung at Ta-lu Chin turned to attack the Hsien-yü, and once again Hsün Wu was in charge of operations. It was not an easy matter to move through the narrow loess ravines and over narrow, easily defended passes. Hsün Wu took refuge in military cunning. His army was probably encamped in T'ai-yüan; in 530 he asked the Hsien-yü for leave to pass through their territory in order to join up with the army of Ch'i, fighting against Yen. The Hsien-yü allowed him to take his army through their territory, and once he had done so Hsün Wu entered the capital of the petty state of Ku (II 50), Hsi-yang (XXI 17), from where he attacked and took the capital of the petty state of Fei (II 33). The Duke of Fei, Mien-kao (1), was captured and taken back to Chin (*Tso-chuan*, Chao year 12, p. 636). In the winter Hsün Wu began direct attacks on the Hsien-yü (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Chao year 12, p. 635; *Tso-chuan* p. 638). The Hsien-yü seem to have been the dominant tribe, while these petty states were their vassals; at any rate the *Tso-chuan* explains the expedition against the Hsien-yü in terms of an expedition against the Fei. Perhaps the Hsien-yü were defending their vassal.

The following year, Chin called a congress of the Chinese states to meet in P'ing-ch'iu (2), nine *li* north of Ch'en-liu-hsien (3), near K'ai-feng-fu (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Chao year 13, p. 642). It was the last great gathering of Chinese states over which Chin was to preside, for the signs of decay of their power were already evident. Ch'i refused to sign the old treaty of alliance (*Tso-chuan*, Chao year 13, p. 645) and Chin, in order to force obedience, brought all their forces to P'ing-ch'iu to impress their allies with a military parade (*Tso-chuan*, Chao year 13, p. 645).

Hsün Wu was presumably recalled to take part, but merely pretended to be leaving. He obviously considered the subjugation of the Ti a far more important matter than the all-China policy of his country. Hearing that all the Chin armies had been recalled to P'ing-ch'iu, the Hsien-yü no longer guarded their frontiers or made defensive preparations, but Hsün Wu suddenly reappeared at the head of the First Army, and invaded Hsien-yü territory at Chu-yung (4) (location unknown). Passing through the plain he looted their lands until he reached the capital, Chung-jen (XXI 64). He probably did not take the city, or else he merely raided it and carried off great booty, for later on Chung-jen is again recorded in Hsien-yü hands (*Tso-chuan*, Chao year 13, p. 646).

The following year seems to have been spent in preparations for a major encounter, or perhaps in smaller expeditions which are not recorded. In the autumn of 527 Hsün Wu invaded Hsien-yü territory again (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Chao year 15,


111°
117°
123°
40°
36°
40°
36°
Hsüan-hua
Ta-t'ung
Sang-kan-ho
PEKING
Wei hsien
TAN-LIN
TAI
Shuo-hsien
Ling-ch'iu
Pao-te
LIN-HU
Tai-hsien
LOU-FAN
Ning-wu
K'o-lan
Hsu-yang
Ch'ih-chih sai
T'ang-hsien
Tan-ch'iu
I-chiang
Ling-shou
Chung-shan
Heng-shan
Hsü-shui
An-hsin
Hsin-lo
Hsin-shih
Yeh
Ch'ung-yu-chih-ch'iu
I-hsien
Jung-ch'eng
Hsiung-hsien
Mo XXI,107
Jen-ch'iu
Tung-yüan XXI,47
Huo-iu
XXI,42
Fei-lung-shan
Yü-hsien
CH'IU-YU
XXI,75
T'ai-yüan
Ching-hsing
Shih-i
FEI
Luan-ch'eng
Hao XXI,6
Kao-i
Hsi-yang XXI,17
KU
Kao-ch'eng
Shen-hsien
Ning-chiu
Hai-ho
P'ing-ting
Li-shih
Feng-tzu
Po-jen
Jen
Hsing-t'ai
P'ing-yüan
Kao-t'ang
Ch'ing-p'ing
TUNG-YANG
XXI,3
T'ang-i
Ta-ming
Chao-ko
Pai-ch'üan
Hui-hsien
Chün-hsien
Chi-hsien
K'ai-feng
Ch'en-liu-hsien
Huang-ho
Ch'in-shui
Lo-ho
Fen-ho
T'ai-an
Wei-shan
Sui-hsien
T'ang-hsien
T'ien-tsin
Ch'ang-li
Luan-ho
PO-HAI
(Gulf of Chihli)
YELLOW SEA
East of 111° Greenwich

p. 656) but the expedition was not aimed at the chief tribe; Hsün Wu attacked the small princedom of Ku, which as we have already suggested probably formed the frontier between Chin and Ti territory in the Great Plain. He besieged the capital of Ku, which held out bravely for three months, until starvation forced capitulation on them. The legend which quickly accrued to this expedition against the barbarians, and made it into a chivalrous romance, has preserved many details of the siege: Hsün Wu is said to have refused to take the town by treachery and to have drawn his enemies' attention to the traitors in their midst. Nor would he acccept the town officials' offer of surrender because food was running short, but accepted capitulation only when supplies were completely exhausted. These romantic details reveal the interest surrounding these expeditions. Hsün Wu was forced to return home by the advanced season of the year, and took with him the Duke of Ku, Yüan-t'i (5) (*Tso-chuan*, Chao year 15, p. 657; *Kuo-yü*, *Chin-yü* ch. 15, ed. Wei-chieh, p. 76ff.; on p. 77 the name of the Duke is given as Yüan-chih (6)). Otherwise Hsün Wu seems to have tried to win the people over by leniency, which is probably how we must understand the report in the *Kuo-yü* (ch. 15, ed. Wei-chieh, p. 77) that Hsün Wu "advised the people of Ku to return to their homes and to obey no-one but the officials". There is a similar atmosphere about the following anecdote from the the *Kuo-yü* (p. 77) about Hsün Wu's mild treatment of the Ku vassal Hsü Sha Li (7), who accompanied his Duke into exile along with his whole family. This official declared with pride that he had given his pledge to Ku of Ti and not to Ku of Chin. This is one of the few ancient documents proving that these petty states in the north of the Great Plain were considered as Ti states.

Hsün Wu was unable to carry out his plans for expansion; he had to rely on his own resources, for with the breaking up of the central power in Chin the warfare with the barbarians became an affair of local warlords. The fighting went on, but apparently with little success, and there are few references to it. We hear only that in 521 Ku rebelled against Chin again, probably with the aid of the Hsien-yü. It was probably a serious rebellion, for preparations against the Hsien-yü were important enough for Chin to call off the official visit of the Duke of Lu, who had got as far as the Yellow River (*Tso-chuan*, Chao year 21, p. 687). When Ku submitted to Chin, the Duke Yüan-t'i was restored, and now apparently rebelled again and went over to the Hsien-yü. In the sixth month of the following year, 520 B.C., Hsün Wu set out to quell the rebels, marching through Tung-yang, which as we have already seen was Chin territory in the Great Plain, east of the T'ai-hang range; Hsün Wu sent his men to the gates of Hsi-yang with orders to pretend they wanted to buy grain, and to rest there, with their weapons on their backs (presumably so as to be out of sight). Then they attacked the Ku and wiped them out, and returned with the same Duke, Yüan-t'i. She T'o (8) was charged with keeping a watch on Ku (*Tso-chuan*, Chao year 22, p. 691). We must assume that the Chin soldiers pretended to be a peaceful caravan of merchants at the gates of Hsi-yang, and that when the time was ripe they attacked and took the town.

We know nothing of the struggles that followed, until in 507 a serious defeat of the Chin forces is recorded in the *Tso-chuan*; the Hsien-yü beat them at P'ing-chung (9), a town whose site is not known, and took prisoner an important official of Chin, Kuan Hu (10), because "he relied too much on his courage" (*Tso-chuan*, Ting year 3, p. 747). Chin now decided to carry on the war in earnest, and asked Wei for help; in the autumn of 506 B.C. the allied armies commanded by the First Minister of Chin, Shih Yang (11) and K'ung Yu (12) of Wei, attacked the Hsien-yü (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Ting year 4, p. 749). Here it was clear that the powerful Chin families were determined, as we have already noted, to put before the interests of an all-China policy the prospects of booty and territorial expansion promised by an expedition against the barbarians. In the previous spring a congress of the Chinese league had been held in Shao-ling (13), which was a district in Han times, 35 *li* to the east of Yen-ch'eng-hsien (14), in Ho-nan. The possibility of an expedition against Ch'u was discussed, for the aggressiveness of this state towards the Chinese states was growing. The Duke of Ts'ai, who had been kept prisoner by Ch'u for three years, was particularly anxious for Chin to take steps against Ch'u, but Chin refused, and the *Tso-chuan* explained the refusal thus: the Duke of Ts'ai refused to bribe Hsün Yin (15), and he set himself against the Duke's request. It is possible that this minor incident played a part, but once we realise that Hsün Yin was the son of Hsün Wu, who had played the most important role in previous campaigns against the Hsien-yü, the deeper reasons why Hsün Yin would rather fight the Hsien-yü than Ch'u are clear enough. In any case the *Tso-chuan* (Ting year 4, p. 749) puts these words into his mouth: "Chung-shan (the Hsien-yü) has not been subjugated. If we abrogate the treaty (with Ch'u) and arouse the anger (of Ch'u), it will not hurt them, but we shall lose Chung-shan". He therefore proposed that the Duke's request should be rejected. Thus the egoism of the aristocratic Chin clans and their greed for expeditions against the barbarians robbed Chin of the last chance to revive the league and perhaps by a major campaign to put a stop to the process of inner decay.

It looks, however, as though Chin had no longer the strength to carry on a determined war against the Hsien-yü. We know nothing of how the 506 expedition ended, but another in the following year was still inconclusive. On this occasion Shih Yang, who was again in command, laid siege to the Hsien-yü capital (the *Ch'un-ch'iu* records that Shih Yang besieged Hsien-yü, Ting year 5, p. 758), but there is no mention of the town falling. The *Tso-chuan* (Ting year 5, p. 759) explains this expedition as seeking vengeance for the defeat of Kuan Hu.

We do not know whether the fighting continued between Chin and the Hsien-yü, but it is likely that Chin was worn out by internal strife. In the year 497 open hostilities broke out between powerful families within the state. Hsün Yin (15), the head of one branch of the Hsün family, also called Chih (16) or Chung-hang (17) because the command of the Central Army was hereditary in the family; and Shih Chi-she (18) the head of the Shih or Fan family, were challenged by renegades of their own families and by another branch of the Hsün family, as well as important Chao, Han, Wei and Liang families and a number of lesser families. In the war which lasted for several years and ended in 490, both the Chung-hang and the Shih families were destroyed. The latter family, as we have seen, had grown powerful on the land gained from the Ti and during expeditions against the Hsien-yü; in the civil war they relied first on the remnants of the Red Ti, and then on the Hsien-yü. It is clear that their leniency towards the defeated Ti, illustrated in the anecdotes about Hsün Wu above, bore fruit. It is of course equally possible that the Hsien-yü wanted to take advantage of this civil war to relieve the pressure from the too-powerful Chin, and therefore helped the weaker side. And it is also possible that they were tempted only by the thought of booty. In 494 B.C. the Hsien-yü fought side by side with the armies of Ch'i, Lu and Wei (the last-named commanded by that K'ung Yu (12) who had led the 506 expedition against the Hsien-yü) in an expedition to Chin "to help the Fan family" (*Tso-chuan*, Ai year 1, p. 793). The allied armies took the town of Chi-p'u (XXI 13) (see p. 175 above). Similarly in 492 when Ch'i and Wei were besieging the town of Ch'i (19), north of Pu-yang district (XVII 73) near Ta-ming (XXI 91) in Ho-pei, they called on the Hsien-yü to help them (*Tso-chuan*, Ai year 3, p. 801). In 491, when one of the most important strongholds of the two families, Han-tan, fell, Hsün Yin fled to the Hsien-yü who with the help of the Ch'i got him to the town of Po-jen (XXI 11) (see p. 175 above), the last stronghold of the Chung-hang family (*Tso-chuan*, Ai year 4, p. 804).

Their connections with these two rebel families brought down upon the Hsien-yü an expedition led by Chao Yang (20), the chief opponent of the rebels, in 489 (*Ch'un-ch'iu*, Ai year 6, p. 807). According to the *Tso-chuan* (Ai year 5, p. 808) he wanted to "curb the rebellious Fan family", but it is likely that men of both families had found refuge with the Hsien-yü. It may be to this expedition that an anecdote preserved in *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, refers (ed. Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an, ch. 8, p. 9b; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 102); it is about the generous Chao Chien-tzu (21), clearly another name for Chao Yang (cf. Ch M II 2, p. 23, Note 1), and the brave Yang-ch'en Hsü Ch'ü (22) who helped him to attack the Ti, out of gratitude. We know nothing of the outcome of the expedition, and it is the last reference to the Hsien-yü we read in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* or the *Tso-chuan*. For us this is the end of our two most important sources of information on the history of these tribes, and for further developments we can only rely on fragments from which the complete story can never be reconstructed. It is probable that the Hsien-yü continued to resist as bravely as ever, and that the few references in the histories reflect the vain attempts of various Chin dictators or their successors in other states to subdue these barbarians.

In the Annals of the Bamboo Books, *Chu-shu chi nien* (ed. *Ku-pen* p. 14a) we read that a new Chin dictator, Hsün Yao (23) better known as Chih po (XXI 109), who drove Duke Ch'u (24) out of Chin, undertook an expedition against the Hsien-yü in the year 457 B.C. (the twelfth year of King Chen-ting); in the course of this campaign Chin won the hill of Ch'iung-yü (XXI 108) (see p. 181 above). If it is correct to place this hill near the present Lai-shui, as has been proposed, it would mean that Hsün Yao went beyond the northern frontiers of Chung-shan territory, and that either he was leading a large-scale campaign or a very sharp raid. It would be unwise, however, to base far-fetched hypotheses on one single localization, and that a somewhat doubtful one.

Chih-po seems to have wanted to undertake a major campaign against the Hsien-yü, and was preparing the ground. The anecdote describing the annihilation of the Ch'iu-yu (25), Ch'ou-yu (26) or Su-yu (27) tribe is linked with his name; it occurs in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (ed. *Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an*, ch. 15, p. 6b; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 212), in Han Fei-tzu (*Han Fei-tzu chi-chieh*, ch. 23, *Shuo-lin hsia*, p. 59, cf. W. K. Liao 1939, p. 253) and referred to in the *Chan-kuo ts'e* (ed. *Szu-pu pei-yao*, ch. 2, p. 2a ff). The fullest account is given in the *Lü-shih*: "The kingdom of Chung-shan ruled over the Su-yu, and Chih-po wanted to attack them, but the country was inaccessible. And so he had a great bell made and placed on two carts drawn side by side; in this way he sent it to the ruler of the Su-yu. The chief made ready to dig away the sides of the ravines along the road, and level the gullies, in order to receive the bell. But Ch'ih-chang Man-chih (28) opposed him . . ." insisting that Chih po was a man of cunning and that an army would certainly be ready to follow in the wake of the bell. The ruler would not listen to him, and so Ch'ih-chang fled to Wei; the account concludes with the words: "He had hardly spent seven days in Wei when the Su-yu were wiped out". This incident, which is recounted much more briefly by the other two sources, is a good illustration of the difficulty experienced by the Chinese fighting the barbarians in the loess and rocky terrain of north-east Shan-hsi. The commentator of the *Chan-kuo-ts'e*, Hsü Hsiao-t'ien (*Chan-kuo ts'e*, ed. Hsü Hsiao-t'ien, vol. 1, p. 30) says that this tribe lived to the north-east of the present district of Yü-hsien (29) in Shan-hsi. According to the Geographical Dictionary the old land of Ch'ou-yu was dependent on P'ing-ting-chou (XXI 1) in Shan-hsi in Ch'ing times and later was dependent on Chi-ning-tao (30). They seem to have lived somewhere in the vicinity of the great route from the T'ai-yüan basin to the valley of north-west Ho-pei. It is natural that every raider anxious to reach Chung-shan from the west would have to conquer this bastion guarding the main route into their country.

Not even Chih-po was able to win a decisive victory, however, for he soon found himself involved with Chao Wu-hsü (31) better known as Chao Hsiang-tzu (32). When the two states which succeeded Chin, Wei and Han, both took the side of Chao Hsiang-tzu, Chih-po was defeated and his family wiped out (453 B.C.). The Hsien-yü found themselves in an awkward position, however, when in 457 Chao Wu-hsü seized the Tai country (33), adjacent to their territory on the north and north-west, thus bringing them into a cleft stick with Chin territory to both north and south of them.

It is extremely difficult to determine at all exactly where the Tai frontiers lay. Both the Chinese Geographical Dictionary and *Ta Ch'ing* ch. 24, p. 7a, locate Tai in what is now Wei-hsien (34). In the latter work we read that east of Wei there is the old town of Tai-hsien and that this is the ancient land of Tai. This is confirmed by the story of how Chao Chien-tzu (21) told his sons to search for the sceptre he had hidden on Ch'ang mountain (XXI 31), and how only Chao Hsiang-tzu realised that his father had been trying to tell them to seize this country (Ch M H, V, p. 32). The Ch'ang mountain was the well-known Heng-shan (XXI 51), which marked the boundary of Chung-shan settlement. This is the identification put forward by the commentator to the Shih-chi (ch. 43, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao cheng*, p. 22). In *Cheng-i* we read: To-tao-chi says: "Heng-shan is 140 *li* north-west of Shang Ch'ü-yang (XXI 39). (Going) another 450 *li* to the north we reach the peak of Heng-shan, called Fei-hu-k'ou (35). North of this is the Tai commandery". Round the central massif of Heng-shan lie the valleys of the present districts of Wei-hsien, Ta-t'ung-hsien and Tai-hsien, which were perhaps the Tai domain. Otherwise it is very difficult to connect any place in the region with the existence of the petty state of Tai. Perhaps An-yang (36) is the only territory which can be reliably located here; the son of King Wu-ling was made Duke of this region in 296, and it is said to have lain round the present Wei-hsien (see Ch M H, V, p. 89). A. Tschepe also places Lo-hsü (37) and P'ing-yin (38) here, but there is no way of confirming what he says.

The *Shih-chi* (ch. 43, ed. *Hui-chu-k'ao-cheng* p. 95) dealing with the year 231 mentions a great earthquake which shook Tai "west of Lo-hsü (37) and south of P'ing-yin (38)". The commentator and with him E. Chavannes locate these places in the region of what is now Lin Fen (39) and Fen-yang (40), which was ancient Chin territory south of the T'ai-yüan basin. A. Tschepe, on the contrary (1910, p. 153, Notes 5, 6) locates them south-east of Kuang-ch'ang-hsien (41), lying 180 *li* west of I-chou (XVII 18) in Ho-pei. He then locates P'ing-yin somewhat to the north-west of Ling-ch'iu (XXI 68), which lies 270 *li* south-east of Ta-t'ung.

There is the question of how far south the Tai territory stretched. In the *Shih-chi*, for the year 328, the towns of Lin (42) and Li-shih (43), taken from Chao by Ch'in in that year, were attributed to Tai (Ch M H V, p. 64). Both these towns lay in the present district of Li-shih, the town of Lin being to the west of Li-shih. Li-shih lies between the T'ai-yüan basin and the Yellow River, in territory which Chin must have seized when first penetrating into the T'ai-yüan basin, and it is unlikely that a barbarian petty state with its centre far to the north-east would have territory so far away. In this context the words "region of Tai" were probably an administrative formula implying that these lands were part of the fief given to the son of Chao Hsiang-tzu on the conquest of Tai, which survived as a unit; or it was at least the designation of a certain region.

In the sources Tai is repeatedly described as Ti territory. In a dream Chao Chien-tzu saw himself receiving from the Lord of Heaven a dog "of the kind found among the Ti" (44) in order to present it to his son (Ch M H V, p. 28). This was taken to mean that his son would become the ruler of the Tai, for "a dog of the Ti kind was the forefather of the Tai" (45) (Ch M H V, p. 31). He was also given two caskets, which meant that his son would win two Ti kingdoms (Ch M H V, p. 28, and *Shih-chi*, ch. 43, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng*, p. 19 and p. 21).

The last-named interprets the two caskets to prophesy the conquest of Chung-shan by King Wu-ling (*Shih-chi*, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng* ch. 43, p. 21). The name Ti is probably used in these legends in the simple sense of "northern barbarian". On the other hand there is no clear evidence referring to Tai as Ti country. The Tai region lay far to the north of the route of the Ti migrations across T'ai-yüan and P'ing-ting to the Great Plain. The people of Tai seem, too, to have been horse nomads rather than primitive farmers as most of the Ti were; at least the sources frequently refer to Tai horses as well as the dogs of the Hu tribes (Ch M H V, p. 102; *Shih-chi* ch. 43, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng*, p. 75). In the *Chan-kuo ts'e* (ch. 3, p. 1b) in the speech made by Su Ch'in to King Huei of Ch'in. the profit from rare furs from the Hu and horses from the Tai is given to Ch'in. Tai horses and Hu dogs, together with jade from Kun mountain were considered the "three jewels" of the kingdom of Chao (*Shih-chi* ch. 43, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng*, p. 75). This may have something to do with the fact that we can identify hardly any places in Tai territory, while in Chung-shan there were many fortified places, some of them still in existence today. It is not of course impossible that the Tai had mingled with the Ti settled on their southern and eastern borders.

We should not forget that Hsüan-hua (XIV 2), where the collection of Ordos bronzes acquired by T. J. Arne came from, lies like Wei-hsien and Ta-t'ung in the region of the Heng-shan range. We can therefore assume that the Hsüan-hua finds represent the culture of the Tai or of some tribe very near to them.

The lack of defence strongpoints among the nomad peoples may perhaps explain the relative ease with which Chao Hsiang-tzu seized Tai, employing a shameful and treacherous murder trick. Immediately after the death of his father, while still in mourning garments, Chao Hsiang-tzu invited the Tai ruler to a feast, in 457; it took place on the hill of Hsia-wu (46) in Tai, 60 *li* north-east of Ti district in Shan-hsi. During the feast Chao Hsiang-tzu bludgeoned his guest — who was also his brother-in-law — and his followers to death with heavy copper ladles specially made for the purpose (Ch M H V p. 41). In the *Chan-kuo ts'e* (ed. Szu-pu pei-yao ch. 29, p. 4a), we can read some naturalistic details. *Chan-kuo* calls the site of this murder Chü-chu-chih sai (47). Chao Hsiang-tzu's sister is said to have stabbed herself with a bodkin afterwards. The affair shows the brutality that was typical of these wars against the barbarians. It must be added, in this case, that Chao Hsiang-tzu was himself a Ti on his mother's side; she had apparently been "a servant" of a Ti (tribe) (48) (*Shih-chi* ch. 43, ed. *Hui-chu-k'ao-cheng* p. 22).

Their acquisition of the Tai territory made the Chao rulers even more anxious to conquer Chung-shan as well, for the shortest route from Tai to the Chao capital in Han-tan, Ho-pei, led through Chung-shan. To make this route safe was one of the main reasons for fighting Chung-shan; in any case the Chao chronicle wrote after the subjugation of Chung-shan: "the northern country from Ling-shou was obedient to us, and the road to Tai was completely free" (*Shih-chi* ch. 43, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng*, p. 64).

The subjugation of the Tai at the same time provided Chao with an important strategical base for attacking Chung-shan from the north-west. They could advance up the valleys of the rivers running down from the frontier ranges, mentioned above. Chao Hsiang-tzu initiated these attacks; his general Hsin Chih Mu-tzu (49) captured the important town of Chung-jen (XXI 64) and Tso-jen (XXI 71) but got no further (*Kuo-yü*, ch. 15, *Chin-yü* ed. Wei-chieh, p. 84). This account is also found in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (ed. Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an, ch. 15, p. 4a; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 208); in the *Huai-nan tzu* (ed. *Hsüeh-sheng kuo-hsüeh ts'ung-shu* chap. Tao-ying pien (50), p. 97); and in the Lieh-tzu (51), chap. Shuo-fu (52) (ed. Yang Po-chün ch. 8, p. 160). Chung-jen appears as Lao-jen (53) in the *Lü-shih* and Yu-jen (54) in the Huai-nan-tzu, corrected by the publisher to Tso-jen (for Chung-jen, Tso-jen, see p. 179 above). Chao probably did not manage to hang on to these towns, for in 376 Chung-jen is again said to be held by the Chung-shan (see Ch M H V p. 57). There were probably many more such expeditions, for the records for the history of Chin and the states which succeeded it are very fragmentary.

At this time Chung-shan must have been a powerful state which wanted to hold its own with the other Chinese states; the ruler took the title of Duke, *kung*, and began to use the Chinese posthumous names. Thus in the chronicle of the Chao family preserved in the *Shih-chi* the year 414 is given as the first year of Duke Wu (55) of Chung-shan (Ch M H V p. 52). Wu is also mentioned in the chronological tables in the *Shih-chi* ch. 15 (ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 13).

It is all the more surprising that in the short space of one year, 408 B.C., General Yo Yang (56) of Wei was able to seize the whole territory of Chung-shan and put an end to the existence of the kingdom, while at the same time Wei was carrying on a war against Sung and Ch'in. The account of this expedition given in the *Shih-chi* in the chronicles of the Chao family (Ch M H V p. 53) and of the Wei family (Ch M H V p. 138) is practivally identical. In the chronological taibles of the Six States in the *Shih-chi* ch. 15 (ed. Ku Chieh-kang p. 15), for the seventeenth year of Duke Wen of Wei we read: "We attacked Sung and Chung-shan, invaded Ch'in and Cheng; on the way back we fortified Lo-yang" (56) (corrected by the editor to (57), Lo-yin and Ho-yang; Ch M H V p. 140, Note 1).

While the historical record is laconic in the extreme, the legends surrounding the end of Chung-shan abound in romantic detail, evidence of the unusual interest concentrated on these Chinese campaigns attacking the northern barbarians. As we have already seen, similar legends developed round the end of the Red Ti, the expedition against the Wu-chung, the Ku, and the end of the Tai.

In the first place the legend contains the name of the last Hsien-yü ruler, Huan (58), and traditionally blames the fall of his kingdom on his debauchery and the immorality of his people. The name of Huan is given in the *Shih-pen* (ch. 8, p. 8a), where we read: "Duke Wu of Chung-shan (55) lived in Ku (59); Duke Huan moved to Ling-shou (XXI 60). He was destroyed by Wu-ling of Chao". The information in the *Shih-pen* is questionable, however; the traditional story of where Duke Wu lived, in particular, shows no agreement. In the *Shui-ching-chu* (ed. *Szu pu pei yao* ch. 11, p. 14a) the seat of Duke Wu is given as

T'ang (XXI 58). The only Ku known in ancient history belonged to Ch'i and lay in Shan-tung, south-east of Fan-hsien (60), which is far away from the Chung-shan settlements. T'ang, on the other hand, lay in Chung-shan, and in Ho-pei, eight *li* to the north of T'ang district there is the mountain of T'ang (61). Ling-shou was a town in Chung-shan, but the rest of the statement, about the destruction brought by King Wu-ling of Chao, makes the whole matter dubious. It looks as though Duke Huan had gained Ling-shou after the conquest of Chung-shan by Wei, which was why the ruler had moved there from Ku, and as though his descendants had then lived on in Ling-shou until Chung-shan was finally destroyed by Chao. This is the interpretation we find in the commentary to the *Shih-chi* (ch. 44, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng*, p. 18) by Huang Shih-san (62): "After Wei defeated Chung-shan they governed the country. The descendants of the ruling house were given several places and served Wei". At several points in the commentary we read of the revival of Chung-shan. The entirely credible tradition preserved in the *Shih-chi*, ch. 80, however, in the introduction to the biography of Yo I (63), tells us that General Yo Yang, the ancestor of Yo I, conquered Chung-shan and was given Ling-shou as a fief. He died and was buried there, and his descendants founded a line. We have no reason to doubt that after the fighting, Ling-shou was given to Yo Yang; if a Duke Huan had his court there it must have been before that campaign. Since the year 414 was the first year of Duke Wu, the presumed reign of Duke Huan and his presence in Ling-shou is reduced to the short period immediately preceding the destruction of Chung-shan,[10] and the whole question thus loses significance.

The legendary account of the conquest of Chung-shan by Wei makes it sound an unusually difficult affair, and it was therefore all the harder to choose the right general. The counsellor to Duke Wen of Wei, Ti Huang (81) boasted that he had suggested General Yo Yang for the task (Ch M H V, p. 145 and Note 1). But Yo Yang could not have carried out his job successfully if Duke Wen had not had full confidence in him and locked away in a casket the defamatory letters he received about the general, refusing to take them seriously (*Chan-kuo-ts'e*, ed. *Szu-pu pei-yao* ch. 4, p. 4b, and *Shuo yüan*, ed. *Szu-pu pei-yao* ch. 6, p. 4a).

The campaign against Chung-shan was all the more difficult because Wei and Chung-shan were not adjacent, and the former had to ask Chao for permission to take the attacking army across Chao territory. At first Chao did not want to agree, but later assented, in the belief that fighting Chung-shan would weaken Wei, and that even if Wei were victorious, the task of governing territory so far from home would be a constant troublesome factor (*Chan-kuo-ts'e*, ed. *Szu-pu pei-yao* ch. 33, p. 1a, and particularly ch. 18, p. 5b). The story of Wei asking for permission to cross Chao territory is also given in the *Han Fei-tzu* (*Chi chieh* ch. 22, *Shuo-lin*, shang, p. 46). Here we are told that it was Duke Su of Chao ly contaminated by the legends about the final destruction of Chung-shan by Chao. The events were obviously very confused in people's minds, while at the same time they were fitted to standard pattern — the end of the kingdom was always the fault of a bad ruler — so that ultimately it no longer mattered whether it was the conquest of Chung-shan by Wei in 408 or its final destruction by Chao in 295.

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[10] The legends of the subjugation of Chung-shan by Wei are unusually confused, and constant-

We find an account of the depravity in Chung-shan in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, ch. 16, section Hsien-shih (64), "Perspicacity", ed. Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an, p. 2a; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, pp. 235ff.). This anecdote tells how the great Chin astrologer, Chin t'ai-shih T'u Shu (65), seeing the state of confusion in Chin and seeing that the Duke of Chin was arrogant and without virtue or justice, took his astrological instruments and went off to Chou. Duke Wei of Chou asked him who would be the first to perish, whereupon the astrologer replied it would be Chin, and indeed three years later Chin was destroyed. The literal translation follows: "Duke Wei again visited T'u Shu and asked who will follow. He replied that it would be Chung-shan. When Duke Wei asked why, he answered: 'Heaven created man and limited his actions. It is the duty of man to observe these limitations, and in this man differs from the birds, the animals and the deer. On this is based the difference between duke and serf, superior and inferior. In Chung-shan they have become used to turning day into night and night into day, and men and women press one to another without ceasing. Spending their time in pleasure, singing, or a prey to melancholy. Their rulers are incapable of hating (this evil). Such habits are bound to bring about the destruction of the kingdom. That is why I declare to you that Chung-shan will come next. "And indeed, in two years from then Chung-shan was destroyed". The author goes on to say that the same fate menaced Duke Wei of Chou.

This account does not tell us which ruler of Chung-shan was meant, so that we cannot say *a priori* which of the two tragedies affecting Chung-shan is referred to here. The remaining information is equally vague. T'u Shu is otherwise an unknown character and it is difficult to decide which event in Chin is prophesied. The commentary to this passage in the *Lü-shih* declares that it refers to Duke Ch'u (24) (474—457) of Chin, who was driven from the country and died during his flight. This is of course a far cry from the destruction of Chung-shan in 408, moreover there is a discrepancy in the chronology. The year 420 would be closer to the mark, when Duke Yu of Chin was killed during his nocturnal carousals. The trouble is that Chin was not destroyed then, although the heads of the three houses of Chao, Han and Wei were given the title of Duke in 403, thus marking officially the partition of Chin. The state of Chin was not finally dissolved, and the ruling house deposed, until the year 376. If this last date were the one in question, the whole account could be taken as referring to the final destruction of Chung-shan. As regards the Duke Wei who appears in this anecdote, the commentary tells us that the fifth successor to King Ching of Chou (519—477), King K'ao (K'ao-lieh, 440—426, who is called K'ao both in the Shih-chi, Ch M H I, p. 300 and in the Chronological tables) made his younger brother Duke of Ho-nan, and that was Duke Huan. Duke Wei was said to be the grandson of Duke Huan. An account of the establishment of these Chou dukes is found in the *Shih-chi* (Ch M H I, pp. 300—301), immediately preceding the nine tripods struck by lightning in 403 B.C., which was inevitably interpreted as an omen of the destruction of Chou, and before the announcement that the rulers of Wei, Han and Chao were appointed Dukes. These events seem to have been connected, and to have been connected with the destruction of Chung-shan, although this last-named event took place somewhat earlier.

The later variants of this account are more definite. The *Shui-ching-chu* (ed. *Szu-pu pei-yao* ch. 11, p. 14a) says: "Later Duke Huan did not rule his country beneficiently. The king of Chou asked the great astrologer Yü (66) which of the rulers would perish first. He answered . . ." and there follows an account which sticks closely to that in the *Lü-shih*. It ends with the destruction of Chung-shan two years later. We do not know what source this author drew on, but it is not improbable that the *name* of Huan was taken over from the account in the *Shih-pen*. The name given to the astrologer may contain an allusion to the fact that he survived the destruction of Chin, from whence he had originally come.

The account in the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* (ed. *Szu-pu ts'ung k'an*, ch. 161, p. 7b), referred to by the *Shih-san chou chih* (XXI 50), is also very close to the preceding version. The astrologer's name is the same, and in addition this version tells us that Duke Wu bore the same clan name as the Chou, an opinion which appears in the *Shui-ching-chu*, where the commentary refutes it (ch.11, p. 14a), and that Yo Yang seized Chung-shan and gave Ling-shou in fief (perhaps to the ruler of Chung-shan). This again is a throw-back to the *Shih-pen*.

It is obvious that these anecdotal accounts tell us nothing new; they confirm what is said in the *Shih-pen*, itself very doubtful, and develop two themes: the stereotyped idea that the last ruler of Chung-shan was wicked, and the equally stereotyped idea that a wise *man* prophesies the end of the kingdom.

Both these themes occur again in the anecdotes connected with the second destruction of Chung-shan. The anecdotes are more numerous than the first set, in the older works, but as we have already noted, there is a tendency for the two to merge.

The idea that a wise man predicts the destruction of the kingdom forms the basis of the anecdote in which the main hero is now Po Kuei (67), the well-known philosopher whose brief biography can be found in the *Shih-chi*, ch. 129, *lieh chuan* 69, (cf. B. Watson 1961, Vol. 2, pp. 482—3). This anecdote is preserved in the *Lü-shih*, ch. 16, section *Hsien-chih*, "Perspicacity", the same section as that in which we find the anecdote about the Chin astrologer (ed. Szu pu ts'ung-k'an, p. 3a; cf. R. Wilhelm, p. 236), and tells of Po Kuei coming to Chung-shan, where the king tried to keep him, but Po Kuei refused, entered his carriage and drove away. Then he went to Ch'i, where the same scene was repeated. When he was asked why, Po Kuei said: "Both these countries will perish. They have learned the five forms of exhaustion".

This anecdote would appear to refer to the first destruction of Chung-shan, since Po Kuei was in contact with Duke Wen of Wei (424—387), in whose reign the first subjugation of Chung-shan took place, and was also in contact with Li K'o (XXI 34), repeatedly mentioned in anecdotes about the destruction of Chung-shan. Nevertheless at the end of the section of the *Lü-shih* (p. 3b) we read: "It was of no avail that (Chung-shan) surrendered territory to Chao five times and that Ch'i mobilized an army and placed it along the River Chi".

This reference to five-fold cession of territory ceded to Chao, and to fighting on the River Chi, shows clearly that the anecdote refers to the final destruction of Chung-shan by Chao. The battle on the River Chi in which Ch'i was defeated by the allied forces of Yen, Ch'in, etc., took place in the year 284, not long after the final destruction of Chung-shan (see Ch M H V, p. 272).

The theme of inefficient rule by the last of the house is the subject of two more anecdotes about the final annihilation of Chung-shan. The only point in which they differ from those quoted above is that final destruction is attributed to ill-advised counsellors. The account is practically the same in Mo Ti (*Mo-tzu hsien ku*, Book 1, Part 3, *So-jan* (68), "On Dying", ed. Sun I-jang, p. 9ff.) and in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (ch. 2, section Tang-jan (69), "A good influence", p. 9b; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 23). This chapter is devoted to a consideration of the good influence counsellors should have on the ruler, and various historical illustrations are given of both good and bad examples. In the passage which concerns our subject six dukes are quoted as being under the influence of evil counsellors, and "therefore their states were ruined and they were executed, their ancestral temples were destroyed and descendants annihilated. The rulers and subjects were dispersed and the people were left homeless. The whole world points to these six princes as the most greedy and disturbing people" (Mei Yi-pao 1929, p. 11). The following are listed in the text: Fan Chi-she (70) of Chin, the son of the Shih Yang (11) who played a prominent part in the fighting against the Ti and who has been discussed above; the Fan family was annihilated in 490 B.C. in the course of the civil war in Chin, as we have described in detail above. Then comes Chung-hang Yin, the Hsün Yin frequently referred to in this study (15), who was repeatedly given aid against hostile Chin families by the Hsien-yü; his family was annihilated in the year 490. The third is the famous Wu ruler, Fu-ch'ai, who committed suicide after being defeated by Yüeh in 473 (see Ch M H IV, p. 32). The fourth is the

Chin dictator we have mentioned repeatedly, Chih po Yao (23), destroyed by Chao, Han and Wei in the year 453 (see Ch M H IV, p. 335). The fifth is Shang of Chung-shan (71), of whom we are told: "Shang of Chung-shan came under the influence of Wei I (72) and Yen Ch'ang (73)" (*Lü-shih* writes (74)). The fifth was K'ang of Sung (75), that is to say Prince Yen (76) who seized power in Sung in 329 and was given the posthumous name of K'ang: he was killed in 282 by King Min of Ch'i (323 –284 B.C.; see Ch M H IV, p. 247).

Interpretation of this passage comes up against considerable difficulty as to whether it refers to the first defeat or the final destruction of Chung-shan. The chronology of the text itself would allow both interpretations, and since the first book of *Mo-tzu* is one of the latest parts of the work, certainly not written by Mo-tzu himself, it is no help to know whether Mo Ti was recording the first or the second catastrophe. The Chinese commentators are divided and there is nothing to be gained by repeating all their views. We shall confine ourselves to the two extremes: Kao Yu (77), the editor of the *Lü-shih* declared apodictically that Shang was the descendant of Prince Mou (78) (we shall be referring to the latter again). When Wei acquired Chung-shan, it was given to him in fief, and both men thus became his vassals. This view is repeated in various commentaries, but Sun I-jang disagrees; after quoting various commentaries and reports about Chung-shan, he refers to the *Shui-ching-chu* and the *T'ai p'ing yü-lan* to the effect that Duke Huan of Chung-shan was wiped out by Wei, adding: "Thus Shang is perhaps Duke Huan and Mo Ti lived to see this happen". The decisive factor for Sun I-jang seems to have been the belief that Mo Ti was the authority for this information, and that the event concerned must have taken place during his lifetime, which is incorrect argument particularly with regard to the incontestible dating of Duke K'ang of Sung.

In my opinion the most serious argument against Sun I-jang is the fact that in the *Lü-shih* the destruction of Chung-shan and Sung is repeatedly connected, in other words, the two events must have taken place so close together that they automatically came to mind in the same connection. We must therefore take the anecdotes in which the two are mentioned together as referring to the final annihilation of Chuang-shan by Chao. Thus in the *Lü-shih*, chapter 10, section *An ssu* (79) "Laying the dead (to eternal) rest" (ed. Szu-pu ts'ung kan, p. 6b; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 123) it is said that "the states of Sung and Chung-shan no longer exist". We find the two connected in the same way in the *Lü-shih*, ch. 24, section Tzu-chih (80), "Self-knowledge", (p. 5a); cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 422) where we are told that "Sung and Chung-shan lacked self-knowledge and therefore perished". We must therefore assume that these anecdotes refer to the final destruction of Chung-shan, which was closer in time to the annihilation of Sung.

It is characteristic of the mutual contamination of the two groups of anecdotes that both the anecdotes given above, about the astrologer T'u Shu, which is part of the first complex, and the reference to the fate shared by Sung and Chung-shan, which concerns the final catastrophe, occur in the same section of the *Lü-shih*, *Tzu-chih*, "Self-knowledge". Obviously both catastrophes which overtook Chung-shan had merged into one in the memories of the people by the end of the Warring States period.

On the other hand, there would be evidence in favour of the "evil counsel" anecdotes referring to the final destruction of Chungshan, in the name of one of these evil counsellors, Wei I. The name Wei suggests a close connection with the state of the same name, who conquered Chung-shan in the campaign of 408.

We gain little that is concrete for our knowledge of the history of Chung-shan from the second, any more than from the first group of anecdotes. Perhaps the only fact is the name of the last Chung-shan ruler before the final catastrophe — Shang.

On the other hand, these anecdotes are of interest because they show how every historical event in ancient China became encrusted over with a multiplicity of anecdotes fitting it into such traditional schemes (as that of the depravity of the last ruler, or bad counsellors) but otherwise quite devoid of real historical content.

who was against giving permission, which is an anachronism; Duke Su ruled from 349 to 326 B.C., long after Duke Wen of Wei. On these grounds Meng Wen t'ung (1937, p. 86) assumes a second expedition by Wei against Chung-shan. The name of the Chao ruler who refused Wei permission to cross their territory clearly varied from one version of the incident to another. In the *Chan-kuo* it is given in one passage as Chao Hsiang-tzu, which is impossible because his reign was 457—425, and elsewhere as a Duke Chao further undefined. There is therefore no need to pay much attention to the name of the Chao duke concerned. In every version, however, it is Duke Wen of Wei who is mentioned, and this must therefore be the deciding factor.

It was a hard fight against Chung-shan, and the siege of the capital lasted three years (*Chan-kuo-t'se* ch. 4, 4b). To break the resistance of the besieged town Yo Yang had to make the heaviest sacrifice imaginable: his son was then in Chung-shan, and the ruler boiled the body, sending the broth to Yo Yang, who calmly drank it. (*Chan-kuo-ts'e* 22, p. 1b, and 33, p. 5a; *Han Fei-tzu-chi-chieh*, ch. 22 *Shuo-lin*, Shang, p. 49; in the *Shuo-yüan*, ed. *Szu-pu pei-yao* ch. 5, p. 9b, the incident is related with additional details). Yo Yang thus successfully passed the test of a hero (see M. Granet 1926, vol. 1, pp. 162—170) and was able to conquer the enemy.

Obviously these anecdotes, like much of the material in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e*, are intended as political-philosophical fiction based on certain historical facts, but having historical significance only as an illustration of the mental atmosphere at the end of the ancient period, and not as real historical facts. The only fact which can be deduced is that General Yo Yang did conquer Chung-shan and that he was rewarded with the fief of Ling-shou (XXI 60), where his descendants continued to live (*Shih-chi* ch. 80, introduction to the biography of Yo I). The *Shuo-yüan* (ed. *Szu-pu pei-yao* ch. 6, p. 11a) attributes the campaign against Chung-shan to General Wu Ch'i (83) as well as to Yo Yang, and in this historical context records the well-known story of Wu Ch'i sucking the pus from a boil while the suffering soldier's mother looks on weeping, prophesying that her son will pay for this honour with his life. The anecdote also occurs in the *Shih-chi* 65, in the biography of Wu Ch'i, but here it is said to have happened during the fighting against Ch'in, and not against Chung-shan.

The rapid victory of Wei against Chung-shan forces us to seek some explanation. Wei was undoubtedly the most powerful of the successor states which took the place of Chin, but remembering how long the Hsien-yü held out in the previous period, and how long Chung-shan itself resisted the warlike state of Chao a hundred years later, when the latter was freshly equipped and had the support of allies, we are bound to find the sudden victory perplexing. It is also strange that Wei should have attacked Chung-shan when they were not neighbours, so that Wei had to ask Chao for the right of transit. It all conspires to look not like a simple act of aggression, but a campaign agreed on before-hand, and probably inspired from within Chung-shan itself. We have already suggested that most of the Hsien-yü territory, if not the whole of it, had originally been part of Yen, and that the people at least in some of the towns retained their sympathies for the house of Yen. Many of the people of Chung-shan must have spoken Chinese, as we can tell from the Chinese names of so many of their towns. It is not impossible that in Hsien-yü territory, too, there was conflict between the original Chinese inhabitants and the warlike clans of the immigrants, as was the case in the territory of the Red Ti. Part of the population may have called upon Wei to come to their aid against their rulers, and then this was the impulse behind the expedition. It might also explain the legends about the misrule of the last Duke of Chung-shan, Huan.

However that may be, after the conquest of Chung-shan Wei behaved with leniency. The territory was not incorporated in the state of Wei, but remained independent with a type of secundogeniture; the first Duke was the son and successor of Duke Wen of Wei, Chi (84). The importance attached by Wei to this appointment can be seen from the statement in the Annals of Wei that Prince Chi was accompanied by Chao Ts'ang-t'ang (85) who acted as his instructor (*Shih-chi*, ch. 44, ed. *Hui chu k'ao-cheng*, p. 7; see Ch MH V, p. 139). The anecdote preserved in the *Shih-chi* (ch. 44, ed. *Hui-chu k'ao-cheng* p. 11) says that Li K'o (XXI 34) was made governor of Chung-shan and that the prince's instructor was Ch'ü-hou Fu (86); this was what Ti Huang (81) had advised. This tradition agrees with the anecdote preserved in the *Han Fei-tzu* (ch. 37, *Nan erh*, p. 92), that Li K'o as the governor of Chung-shan drove out an official who proposed an unjust increase in the taxes. We get the same impression of wise and lenient rule from an anecdote preserved in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (ch. 19, ed. *Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an* p. 13a; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 333), according to which Prince Chi discussed with Li K'o the dangers besetting a ruler who allowed himself to grow proud.

When Chi succeeded to the throne of Wei, to become Duke Wu (386—371) his younger brother Chih (87) was sent to take his place. We find a record of this succession by Chi's younger brother to his post in Chung-shan in the *Shuo-yüan* (ed. *Szu-pu pei-yao* ch. 12, p. 3a), in a long passage describing how Duke Wen of Wei gave Chung-shan to Prince Chi in fief, and how hostility grew up between the two in the course of three years. The situation was saved by the clever emissary of Chi, the Chao Ts'ang-t'ang mentioned above (85), who arranged things so that Duke Wen "sent his younger son Chih to be feudal prince of Chung-shan and restored Prince Chi as the heir to the throne" (p. 4a).

Chung-shan under Wei rule, and the final downfall

XXIII

We can entertain no doubt but that Chung-shan remained under the rule of the Wei princes until its final destruction at the hands of Chao, and interpret the references by many commentators to a revival of the Chung-shan kingdom only in the sense that it acted as an independent state unit, not one ruled once more by the former dukes. Such a restoration could not have taken place without fighting, of which there is no hint in the sources; quite the contrary: Chung-shan obviously remained on excellent terms with Wei until it finally ceased to exist.

The idea that the former ruling family of Chung-shan was restored to power is suggested by commentators to the *Shih-chi*, e.g. Huang Shih-san (XXII 62) says (*Shih-chi hui-chu k'ao-cheng* ch. 44, p. 18): "When Wei had reduced Chung-shan, they ruled the country. The descendants of the ruling house were placed over several towns and served Wei. In the last year of King An (376 B.C.) they fought against Chao, so that Chung-shan must have been very powerful at that time. Now (the prince of Chung-shan) became a minister in Wei, just as a prince of Ching-kuo (1) was minister in Ch'i. His country must have been even more powerful, yet he served Wei as a vassal".

Sun I-jang also speaks of the revival of Chung-shan in his commentary to Mo-tzu (*Mo-tzu hsien-ku*, ed. Sun I-jang ch. 1, p. 10) in the passage about the final defeat of Chung-shan. After summing up the events of Chung-shan's final defeat and destruction, Sun I-jang says: "Duke Wen of Wei gave the land of Chung-shan in fief to his son, Chi. Later Chi was made heir to the throne and the fief passed to the younger son, Chih. Still later Chung-shan was restored as an independent state and then again destroyed, by Chao".

The idea that Chung-shan was restored to independence under its former rulers was also accepted by Meng Wen-t'ung (1937, p. 83). He thought that after Wei had conquered Chung-shan the ruler was brought to Ling-shou, by which act Chung-shan was restored. The report of the Ti victory over Wei in 378 B.C. was taken to refer to this restoration of Chung-shan. We have already rejected Meng Wen-t'ung's interpretation (p. 170 above).

It can be taken as confirmation of our view of the close relationship between Chung-shan and Wei that the Duke of Chung-shan became a minister in Wei in 343 (Ch M H Y, p. 155; also the chronological tables in the *Shih-chi*, ch. 15, ed. *Ku Chieh-kang*, p. 29, where this information is given under the 29th year of Duke Huei of Wei, i.e. 342). The fact that it is recorded in the annals of Wei shows that it was an important event, concerning a post of importance in the country. This could not have been entrusted to any member of a foreign or even hostile family. As a rule it was members of the ruling family who became First Minister, like the Prince of P'ing-yüan (2), Chao Sheng (3), who was the younger brother of King Huei-wen of Chao (298—266 B.C.) (see Ch M H V p. 117, Note 5). His biography is in the *Shih-chi*, ch. 76. We must therefore assume that this Duke of Chung-shan, too, was a member of the ruling family in Wei.

It is quite another question whether this minister was the Prince Mou of Chung-shan (4) who appears in various philosophical works of the Warring States period as a lover of philosophy and a great admirer of the founder of Chinese logic, Kung-sun Lung (5) (the view of H. Maspero 1927 A, p. 489, 535). Prince Mou of Chung-shan appears in Chuang-tzu (*Chuang-tzu ch'üan-ku*, ed. Hu Yüan-chün, ch. 28, p. 247; cf. H. A. Giles, 1926, p. 380) where he is represented as discussing with the philosopher Chan (6), complaining of having to live in the country although his heart longs for the palaces of Wei. This same anecdote is given in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (ed. *Szu-pu ts'ung k'an* ch. 21, p. 7b; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 381) and also in the *Huai-nan-tzu* (ed. Hsüeh-sheng kuo-hsüeh ts'ung-shu, ch. *Tao-ying-hsün* (7), p. 102). In the *Lieh-tzu* (ed. *Lieh-tzu chi-shih* ed. Yang Po-chün, ch. 4, *Chung-ni p'ien* (8), p. 86) we read that he liked talking with wise men, neglected affairs of state and was an admirer of Kung-sun Lung of Chao, for which someone ridiculed him. In the *Hsün-tzu* he is criticized first among twelve philosophers (perhaps it should have been ten) in the chapter entitled *Fei shih-erh-tzu p'ien* (9) (ed. *Pai-hua shih chieh Hsün-tzu* vol. 1, pp. 84—85), who "take advantage of the present generation, they gloss over unorthodox teachings; they beautify evil ideas so that they make the country wicked and confused etc." (cf. H. Dubs 1928, pp. 77—78). In the *Shuo-yüan* (ed. *Szu-pu pei-yao* ch. 10, p. 7b) Wei kung-tzu Mou appears in conversation with Duke Jang (10) (given name Jan (11)) who — as the context makes clear — can be no other than King Hsiang of Wei, who was also in contact with Mencius and who reigned 318—296 B.C. (For a discussion of the involved time of this king see Ch M H V Appendix, p. 462ff.) This anecdote probably supplies the most exact indication of when he lived; the other philosophical texts in which Prince Mou appears, like *Chuang-tzu* or *Lieh-tzu*, are too difficult to date, nor can we assign a specific date to the philosopher Chan with whom the prince was conversing in the *Chuang-tzu*. It is not possible to draw definite conclusions from the material, except that he was friendly with the philosopher Kung-sun Lung; even his dates are not known exactly, but he lived at the end of the fourth and in the first half of the third century B.C. (according to H. Maspero, 1927 A, p. 535). Then there is the statement in the *Shuo-yüan*, in the anecdote recounted above, that Prince Mou was in contact with King Hsiang of Wei (318—296), whom he wanted to desert. This does not exclude the prince's being a minister in Wei in 343, but in this case he would have been much older than Kung-sun Lung the philosopher, and by the time Hsiang came to the throne he must have been a very old man. This would fit the atmosphere of the anecdote, in which the king calls him *hsien-sheng*, "master", using his own given name, and respectfully listening to what the master has to say. On the other hand the great reputation this man apparently enjoyed among his contemporaries would perhaps explain why the fact that a Duke of Chung-shan became a minister in Wei should have been recorded in the chronicles.

The situation described in the *Chuang-tzu* and other sources shows us clearly enough what this secundogeniture of Wei looked like in Chung-shan. Prince Mou is presented as a prince, *kung-tzu*, from a state where there are "ten thousand war chariots"; he was thus a member of the ruling family in Wei. "Living among streams and mountains", probably in some out-of-the-way spot which is perhaps meant to be Chung-shan, he longs for the cultured Wei capital — in those days the centre of learning. On the other hand we must observe carefully that according to *Lieh-tzu*, the prince "neglected state affairs", while *Hsün-tzu* records a malignant attack on him. If it were not for the fact that the last ruler of the state of Chung-shan is called Shang in all the legends of the destruction of Chung-shan by Chao, we would be tempted to see in this otherwise admirable character a man who contributed no little to the destruction of his country and therefore appears in the legends under two guises, like Chou the last ruler of Shang: on the one hand as a wise man and on the other as one who neglected his duties and therefore brought his country to ruin. The same can be said if we are dealing with a minister of Wei; a Chung-shan prince became minister in Wei in 343 or 342, and in 341 we see Wei suffering a terrible defeat at Ma-ling, at the hands of the Ch'i: the general perished and the heir to the throne was captured. This defeat marked the final decay of Wei power, and the minister of Wei could be called to account for it.

There can be no doubt that the few fragmentary scraps of information we have about Prince Mou show the close dependence of Chung-shan on Wei, and confirm that it was indeed secundogeniture.

Evidence of this connection between Chung-shan and Wei is also provided by the account in the *Han Fei-tzu* (*Han Fei-tzu chi-chieh*, ch. 30, p. 82) that Yo Ch'ih (12) was a minister in Chung-shan. It is most likely that he was a descendant of that General Yo Yang who was given Ling-shou in fief, and probably left generations behind him there.

It probably did Chung-shan a great deal of good to be ruled by the educated Dukes of Wei, and indeed this far-away land became one of the centres of learning in the China of the day. Prince Mou himself, as we have seen, was well-known as a writer. His work appears to have been Taoist in character; its four volumes are mentioned in the chapter on literature in the History of the Han Dynasty, given fourth place after *Chuang-tzu* and *Lieh-tzu*. (See *Han-shu i-wen-chih* in *Chung-kuo li-tai i-wen-chih* p. 6.) There is an anecdote extant in which a master of the school of the philosopher Mo Ti is discussing with a minister from Chao, before the king of Chung-shan; the Mohist with his anti-war philosophy easily got the better of his opponent (*Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*, ed. *Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an* ch. 18, section *Ying-yen* (13) "Responses" p. 17a; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 311).

Naturally Chung-shan was never a power to equal the seven Warring States; before its final defeat by Chao it is said to have covered 500 *li* and been able to mobilize only one thousand war chariots compared to the tens of thousands of a really great power. In the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* (ch. 5, p. 5b) we read: "Chung-shan once covered 500 *li* and Chao conquered it alone". Ibid., ch. 12, p. 4a, we read that "Chung-shan was a country of a thousand war chariots and attacked two countries of ten thousand chariots". The reference to one thousand chariots occurs again in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* (ch. 33, p. 2a).

The people of Chung-shan, however, were capable of standing up bravely to their attackers, as we read in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* (ch. 20, p. 1b): "Chao attacked Chung-shan with two hundred thousand men, and came back (without having achieved anything) five years later." While it is true that what the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* says cannot be taken as historical fact, it is nevertheless the reflection of the general opinion at the time, and has thus a measure of documentary value.

The Dukes of Chung-shan seem to have been proud of their learning and of the bravery of their people defending the country, and to have aimed at a more important place in the Chinese political system than their significance warranted. In 318 the rulers of the more important states adopted the title of king, formerly reserved for the Chou house alone; Chung-shan followed suit, and this seems to have displeased their more important neighbours (Ch M H V, p. 66). There are two anecdotes in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* which record that the ruler of Chung-shan took the title of king in imitation of the rulers of such states as Ch'i, Chao, Han, Wei and Yen, and that Ch'i was highly indignant at this bold step (*Chan-kuo-ts'e*, ch. 33, pp. 1a and 2a).

Before Chung-shan could be finally defeated all her neighbours, Chao, Ch'i and Yen, had to join forces; Chao, which seems to have become the major enemy after Chung-shan became a secondogeniture of Wei, was then able to subdue the country.

The fighting between Chung-shan and Chao began soon after the former was subjugated by Wei. Fortune favoured both sides in turn, and Chung-shan does not seem to have remained in the role of passive victim. The Chao chronicles, at least, record that in 377 there was a battle at Fang-tzu (14) (Ch M H V, p. 57), which according to the Geographical Dictionary lay south-west of the town of Kao-i (XXI 15) in Ho-pei. This was a district as early as Han times (see *Han-shu* ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 28 A, 2, p. 30a; it belonged to Ch'ang-shan chün (15). It thus lay far to the south in ancient Chin territory, now that of Chao. The following year, however, Chao got as far as the Chung-shan capital, Chung-jen (Ch M H V, p. 57). We can see that Chung-shan had adopted contemporary Chinese military tactics from the fact that in 369 they built a great wall (Ch M H V, p. 58). In the constant warfare of the day this was the main defensive measure taken by the Chinese states. We do not know which of Chung-shan's neighbours was the threat behind this measure.

Chao does not seem to have attempted any more energetic measures against Chung-shan until the warlike Wu-ling came to the throne (325–299 B.C.). Perhaps Chung-shan was somewhat protected by its relationship to Wei, which may be the sense we should attribute to a hint in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e*, otherwise an unreliable and distorting source. The passage in question says that Chung-shan was destroyed "because they relied on Ch'i and Wei and were arrogant towards Chao" (*Chan-kuo-ts'e* 25, p. 1b). There were many battles between Chao and Ch'i, and Chung-shan may have tried to take advantage of the hostilities to get revenge, or at least to improve their position with regard to the enemies surrounding them. However, as we shall see, Ch'i was not to be relied on too much, either.

Similarly we cannot be sure how much credence to give the passage in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* in which King Wu-ling accuses Chung-shan of "relying on mighty warriors from Ch'i (during the rule of his predecessor) and invading and laying waste the land of Chao, putting the people in chains, and with the aid of water beseiging (the town of) Hao (XXI 28); were it not for the divine powers of the gods of the earth and of millet, Hao would have been lost". Wu-ling's predecessor had been distressed by this, but there had not yet come the opportunity to take revenge for the injustice done to him (*Chan-kuo-ts'e* 19, p. 8a, Ch M H V, pp. 81–82). This would make it seem that Chung-shan in alliance with Ch'i took aggressive action towards Chao. The only reference in the sources which could perhaps apply to the events mentioned by King Wu-ling is one of the year 332, that Ch'i and Wei attacked Chao and that Chao opened the dykes on the Huang-ho in order to drown them (Ch M H V, p. 64). Chao must have been in considerable danger to have recourse to such a drastic step, but the Chao chronicles do not mention either here or elsewhere that there had been fighting between Chung-shan and the predecessor of Wu-ling. In the year 323, on the contrary, we learn that Wu-ling fortified Hao (Ch M H V, p. 66) and in 305 we are told that it was won from Chung-shan (Ch M H V, p. 86). It is not impossible that the author of the *Chan-kuo* was acquainted with the legend of Chung-shan's capture of Hao, but placed it in the wrong year and used it as one of the motives for Wu-ling's anger against Chung-shan. It is a good example of the extreme caution necessary in dealing with the mass of anecdotes, historical references and reminiscences which the author of the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* put together and rewrote with a very free hand.

One thing is certain: King Wu-ling decided to make use of the favourable moment when both the king of Yen and the king of Ch'in were under an obligation to him (Ch M H V, pp. 67 and 69), in order to destroy the state of Chung-shan which lay in the heart of his territories, as he said on one occasion (Ch M H V, p. 70).

Compared with the relative ease with which Wei subdued Chung-shan a hundred years earlier, the involved preparations King Wu-ling now made for his attack are all the more striking. In the first place he seems to have tried to find out all he could about the topography of the country he would have to fight over. In 309 he left Chiu-men (16) to build a terrace at Yeh (17); according to the Geographical Dictionary and the *Ta Ch'ing*, ch. 18, p. 6b, Chiu-men was to the north-west of the present Kao-ch'eng hsien (XXI 20) and was a district even in Han times (*Han-shu* ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, 28 A, 2, p. 31a, Ch'ang-shan chün).

The Yeh terrace, according to the Geographical Dictionary and the *Ta ch'ing*, ch. 18, p. 7a, and according to the *Kua-ti-chih*, was south-west of Hsin-lo hsien (XXI 62) in Cheng-ting-fu. The king built it "in order to observe from far off the lands of Ch'i and Chung-shan" (Ch M H V, p. 69). The king seems to have penetrated right into the heart of Chung-shan territory; it is interesting to note that on this occasion Ch'i was also named as a possible enemy of Chao.

Two years later, in 307, the king rode through the northern tip of Chung-shan territory, and on his way back probably stopped at the town of Fang-tzu (14); this was of course far to the south, in Chao territory (Ch M H V, pp. 69–70). This is the only possible interpretation to put on the passage in the *Shih-chi* if we compare it with the traditional location of Fang-tzu. Then he went on to Tai, the second base for operations against Chung-shan. At the same time Wu-ling introduced radical military reforms, forming companies of archers on horseback which made his army more mobile and capable of waging a fast and very mobile war. This reform, which probably aroused opposition among the conservatives, was apparently not introduced only because of fighting against the northern Hu tribes, but to be used against Chung-shan, too; in conversations attributed to King Wu-ling they are mentioned together with the Hu tribes (Ch M H V, p. 81). The most important, however, were his efforts to get allied forces and help on all sides; he sent emissaries to the different states, probably to ask for help and at least to gain assurance of neutrality (Ch M H V, p. 85). He seems to have been successful in this; the king of the Lin Hu tribes (18) provided horses (Ch M H V, p. 85) and besides companies of Tai soldiers there were companies of Hu tribesmen in the army sent against Chung-shan (Ch M H V, p. 85). Shortly before undertaking the expedition itself, in 306, Wu-ling made a sudden raid on Chung-shan which took him as far as Ning-chia (XXI 86), probably on the eastern border of Chung-shan (Ch M H V, p. 84; for the site of Ning-chia, see p. 181 above).

After making all these preparations and reconnaissance raids, King Wu-ling decided to attack Chung-shan in 305. The attack seems to have been made on two fronts: the main force, under the personal command of the king, probably set off from Chao territory in the south and took Hao (XXI 8), Shih-i (XXI 41), Feng-lung (XXI 43) and Tung-yüan (XXI 47) (Ch M H V, pp. 85–86). This interpretation of the description of the campaign is based on the localization of the towns involved carried out above (pp. 176ff.); all the towns seized lay in the southern regions of Chung-shan, which suggests that the king's army came from the south. The second force, made up of Hu and Tai auxiliaries, came from the west along the old route from the T'ai-yüan basin through P'ing-ting to the Hsing pass (XXI 2). From here they moved north and at Ch'ü-yang (XXI 39) joined up with another force comprising chariots and mounted warriors, which had either come from Tai in the north, or had followed more or less the same road as the others (Ch M H V, p. 85). It is difficult to reconstruct the itinerary of the campaign exactly, because the text of the *Shih-chi* is obviously corrupt at this point.

This combined army, apparently experienced in fighting over difficult terrain, began cleaning up the mountain fastnesses of Chung-shan along the frontier with Tai: Tan-ch'iu (XXI 48), Hua-yang (XXI 53) and the Ch'ih passes (XXI 56) (Ch M H V, pp. 85--86). In spite of all the forces he had mobilized and the successes achieved by his armies, King Wu-ling does not seem to have believed he could carry the campaign to a finish, and when Chung-shan offered him four towns he called off hostilities. This is the best proof of the fierce determination of Chung-shan to resist, and indeed it is reflected in the legends of heroism we shall be dealing with later.

There were more expeditions against Chung-shan in 303 and 300 B.C.; we learn nothing of the results of the first (Ch M H V, p. 86) while the second conquered the northern part of Chung-shan, neighbouring on Yen and Tai (Ch M H V, p. 87) and may have brought Chung-shan into dependence on Chao.

It took Chao many more years to complete the conquest of Chung-shan, however, and then only with the help of the neighbouring states. In 297 King Wu-ling – now deprived of the throne and ruling only as "father of the ruler" – visited the newly-acquired territories (presumably those taken from Chung-shan) and Tai territory, and met the King of Lou-fan (19), who promised him soldiers (Ch M H V, p. 89). In the following year, 296, Wu-ling finally succeeded in conquering Chung-shan and deporting the king to Fu-shih (20), now Yen-an in Shen-hsi (Ch M H V, p. 89). This may have been the Shang (XXII 71) who was said to have come under the influence of bad counsellors, which led to the loss of his kingdom (see note 40, p. 193). We have already quoted what the Chao chronicles said of this war. King Wu-ling seems to have rejoiced mightily in his victory, given rewards generously, anounced a general amnesty, and feasted for five days (Ch M H V, p. 89).

Chao could not achieve final victory over Chung-shan until all neighbouring states had been brought into the campaign; not only the Hu tribes, mentioned above, but Ch'i and Yen also contributed to the downfall of Chung-shan. In the chronological tables of Chao (*Shih-chi*, ed. Ku Chieh-kang, ch. 15, p. 41) we read for the year 295: "Ch'i and Yen together destroyed Chung-shan" and in the section on Ch'i in the same tables (p. 40) we are told: "We helped Chao annihilate Chung-shan" and in the section on Ch'i in the same tables (p. 40) we are told: "We helped Chao annihilate Chung-shan". This statement is repeated in the Ch'i chronicles for the same year (Ch M H V, p. 266).

It may cause some surprise that the annals of Chao do not mention the part played by Yen and Ch'i in the final destruction of Chung-shan, but there is no reason to doubt a fact given in so many different documents. Ssu-ma Ch'ien probably drew on various sources for the details given in the Chronological tables. The difference of one year in the date can be explained by the various times at which the facts were recorded, or the different calendars used. As we have already observed (p. 182 above), soon after the defeat of Chung-shan in 294 Chao gave to Yen the towns of Mo (XXI 107) and I (XVII 18), probably in return for that neighbour's help against Chung-shan.

That Yen took part in the destruction of Chung-shan can be seen from the *Han Fei-tzu*, where we read of King Hsiang (21) – perhaps King Chao (22), 312—297, who among other achievements pacified Chung-shan "in such wise that whoever was a friend of Yen was respected and whoever was not a friend of Yen was despised" (*Han Fei-tzu chi-chieh* ch. 6, ch. Yu-tu (23), "Having Regulations", p. 21; cf. W. K. Liao 1939, Vol. I, pp. 36—37). The reliability of this piece of information from the *Han Fei-tzu* is considerably lessened by the mistake in the person of the ruler of whom it is told; nor does it supply us with any new information: credit for the destruction of Chung-shan is simply attributed to Yen. More worthy of note is the comment in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* put into the mouth of the well-known romance figure, the politician Su Ch'in (24): "In the past Chung-shan mobilized its entire forces and went out to fight Yen and Chao. In the south they fought at Ch'ang-tzu (25) and defeated Chao, in the north they fought at Chung-shan, crushed the Yen army and captured their general. This Chung-shan was a land with a thousand war chariots, and attacked two countries with ten thousand chariots, and in two successive battles was victorious. This was the height of military skill. Yet this land later was destroyed and the ruler and his vassals are now in Ch'i. What was the reason for this change? It was their misfortune that they did not know when to stop aggressive wars". (*Chan-kuo-ts'e*, ch. 12, pp. 3b—4a).

We have more than once pointed out how unreliable the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* is as a historical document, and we could therefore take this passage as no more than a reflection of the tradition of heroic defence of Chung-shan and the bravery with which they faced the coalition of their powerful neighbours, of which we shall still have something to say. Nor does the information about places given there inspire much confidence: Chung-shan was generally known and could be introduced by anyone talking about Chung-shan, and Ch'ang-tzu is the name of a place which existed as early as the sixth century B.C. and still exists today (mentioned in the *Tso-chuan*, Hsiang year 18, p. 476). But it lies in the Lu-an basin in Shan-hsi and it is most unlikely that the Chung-shan army ever got so far. It is of course possible that the name has been confused with Fang-tzu (14), where Chung-shan really did join battle with Chao in the year 377 (see above). There is only one detail in the whole account that deserves our closer attention, and that is the statement that the ruler of Chung-shan, with his vassals, was then in Ch'i. This does not agree with the Chao annals, according to which the ruler of Chung-shan was deported to Fu-shih. Even more disquieting is the fact that it does agree with the account in the annals of Ch'in, which are probably the only chronicle to have survived in their entirety up to Han times, and been used by Szu-ma Ch'ien. This chronicle notes for the year 299 that Chao defeated Chung-shan utterly, and that the ruler fled and later died in Ch'i (*Shih-chi*, ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng ch. 5, p. 66; Ch M H II, p. 79).

The Ch'in annals for the year 296 note that five states, Ch'i, Wei, Chao, Sung and Chung-shan joined to attack Ch'in (*Shih-chi*, ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng, ch. 5, p. 66; Ch M H II, p. 80). The only interpretation which would allow us to collate all these conflicting statements would be to suppose that during an expedition in 300 or somewhat later Chao defeated Chung-shan ("utterly", according to the

Ch'in annals). The ruler of Chung-shan fled to Ch'i, where he probably died. Chung-shan then acknowledged the domination of Chao and another ruler was placed on the throne, a vassal of Chao; the Coung-shan army would then logically accompany Chao on the expedition against Ch'in in 296. Chao may even have taken advantage of the departure of part of the army for Shen-hsi (Ch M H II, p. 80, Note 6) to put the final touches to the defeat of Chung-shan, and deported the ruler to Fu-shih. (We may find *some* support for our hypothesis in the anecdote given in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e*, ch. 21, p. 6b, saying that "three kingdoms attacked Ch'in and Chao seized Fu-lin (XXI 87)"; Fu-lin apparently lay 60 *li* south-west of the present Chi-hsien (IV 22), which would already be in the eastern part of the basin formed by the Huang-ho near Ta-lu, which is somewhat doubtful, as we have already pointed out (p. 181 above). We cannot place this statement any more exactly, because we do not know whether it refers to the year 303, when three kingdoms attacked Ch'u as the ally of Ch'in (referred to in other anecdotes as well), or to the year 298, when Wei, Ch'i and Han defeated Ch'in (Annals of Wei, Ch M H V, p. 167). Whereas in the previous attack on Chung-shan Chao was aided by Yen, for the final parcelling up of Chung-shan territory Ch'i was brought in as well, although up to then it had apparently been on the side of Chung-shan. The coalition of these three states then put a final end to the last of the Ti states in the Great Plain. Naturally this interpretation is no more than a hypothesis which attempts to reconcile the conflicting data given in the sources.

A favourite theme which repeatedly crops up in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* was that the state of X was attacked or itself attacked another state, as the consequence of which Chung-shan was destroyed. In the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* (ch. 12, p. 1b ff.) we read: "In earlier times Ch'i together with Han and Wei attacked Ch'in and Ch'u. Ch'i was not too ardent in the fighting and when the territory was divided up did not take more than Han or Wei, and yet the whole world blames Ch'i. Why? Because Ch'i became the target for the hatred of Han and Wei. Then the whole world was at war. Ch'i was fighting Yen and the Chao family seized Chung-shan. Ch'in and Ch'u did not cease attacking Han and Wei. Sung and Yüeh thought of nothing but fighting. These ten states had no thought but to attack one another. Why then should they be angry only at Ch'i alone?" This account is obviously a very vague reflection of the historical reality. In the year 303 Ch'i, Han and Wei did in fact attack Ch'u, which had deserted Ch'i and joined Ch'in in 305 (Annals of Ch'u). The rest is only a very summary account of the fighting between the Chinese states, in the course of which Chao, taking practically no part in the fighting, seized Chung-shan. We could not deduce more from this than the fact that Chao took advantage of the fact that all the others were busy fighting, to get control of Chung-shan. We do not hear of fighting between Yen and Ch'i until 285, however; nothing can be surmised from this, as the annals of Yen are so badly preserved. The same situation is apparently meant in *Chan-kuo-ts'e* (ch. 18, p. 7b), where a letter from Su Ch'in to King Chao says: "In earlier times Ch'u was attacked for a long time, and Chung-shan was destroyed".

There is another variant on this theme in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* (30, p. 9b): "Ch'in attacked Han for a long time and therefore Chung-shan was destroyed; now Ch'in has been attacking Ch'u for a long time, and Yen will surely be destroyed". All this says absolutely nothing of value for real history.

If there is any historical core to these anecdotes it is either that Chung-shan lost the help of a former protector, or that Chao found its hands free to settle Chung-shan for good. Historically the anecdotes offer nothing. The moment the three neighbouring states united against her, Chung-shan was lost whatever the circumstances.

More important than these somewhat doubtful speculations about the possible political configurations which brought about the destruction of Chung-shan is the unanimous tradition that Chung-shan put up a heroic fight in defence of its independence. That this was indeed so is clear from the long time Chao needed before Chung-shan was finally defeated, and from the fact that Chao had to call on all its neighbours for aid. The heroic struggle of Chung-shan is described in the passage of the *Chan-kuo* quoted above, about the victory of Chung-shan over the superior forces of Chao and Yen; similar accounts occur elsewhere too. In the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* (ch. 20, p. 1b) Chao She (26) says: "Chao attacked Chung-shan with two hundred thousand men, and came back (without having achieved anything) five years later". There is a reminiscence of the heroic resistance of Chung-shan in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (ed. *Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an*, ch. 21, section Kuei-ts'u (27) "Appreciate ardour", p. 11b; cf. R. Wilhelm 1928, p. 386), where we are told of the exploits of the strong man Wu Ch'iu-chen or T'an (28): "The Chao family attacked Chung-shan. Among the people of Chung-shan there was a man called . . . who put on a coat of iron mail, seized an iron bar in his hand, and fought in this manner. Whoever he struck at was crushed, wherever he flung himself he won through. He crushed chariot with chariot, man with man. He almost reached the place where the general of (Chao) was, and died there."

This is something of a dramatic epilogue to the equally dramatic history of the Ti tribes, who though few in numbers made a significant contribution to the history of ancient China.

The cultural, economic and linguistic affinities of the Ti

XXIV

Now that we have traced the whole history of the Ti from the time when they first appeared on the Chinese scene to their ultimate loss of independent political identity, a history which lasted almost a thousand years, we must consider who these Ti really were, what national group they belonged to, and what we know of their economic and social organization. In the first place we must deal with the two extreme points of view mentioned earlier: the first, propagated by F. Hirth, de Groot, W. Eberhard and other European scholars, and by Ma Ch'ang-shou among Chinese writers, is that the Ti and the other people of this region were of Turko-Tatar origin, while their economic and social life was that typical of horse-nomads. At the other extreme Maspero, and basically Haloun as well, believed that they were of Indo-Chinese origin and followed the way of life common to the peoples all over the area from China southwards to Further India, displaying affinities with the Indo-Chinese people in their language, social and economic habits. We must attempt to define the differences and similarities between the Ti and the other "barbarian" tribes in Northern China, and between the Ti and the Chinese themselves. The word "barbarian" is of course used here only in the sense that the Chinese felt these people to be different from themselves, and does not imply any judgment or assessment of their cultural standards or ethnical classification.

It must be said at once that the material available for the solution of all these problems is extremely scanty and also of unequal value, deriving from different regions and dating from different periods. The greatest caution is advisable in drawing general conclusions from it. It is natural to assume that the general character of the life of the Ti before their migrations differed considerably from the way they lived afterwards. One degree of importance must be attributed to the archeological material and another to concrete historical records of the participation of the Ti in specific events, while a different value again must be attached to comments in late philosophical works, where we are dealing with cultural and philosophical systemizations and abstractions. Finally such hypotheses and speculations as relationship between the Ti and the Ti-li cannot be considered at all,for they lack any historical value whatsoever.

The first characteristic feature which strikes us in references to the Ti, and which must be carefully considered, is the marked individuality of this national group, and the relatively large area it inhabited. Although I believe we have proved successfully that the Ti settlements east of a line from T'ai-yüan to the Fen basin were secondary, the territory they inhabited west of this line is still very extensive; we should also bear in mind that the Ti preserved their individuality even after their vast expansion, and did not disintegrate into a conglomeration of almost indistinguishable groups. The characteristic identity of the Ti stands out all the more clearly if they are compared with other groups, for example with the tribes known as Jung.

As we have already seen (p. 18), Wang Kuo-wei thought the names Ti and Jung belonged to the same category, both being general designations meaning simply "barbarian"; he also thought they were words of Chinese origin. In my review of Eberhard's thesis (Průšek 1953 A, pp. 64–65) I showed that this view is incorrect, since the two names are used quite differently in the source materials. Except for those passages in which it is used in the general sense of "barbarian", e.g. Jung Ti (the Jung and Ti) the name Ti is found in a vast number of cases as the designation of a clearly defined national and political grouping, unaccompanied by any further epithet. The sources usually say "The Ti did this or that", or else give the name of the specific tribe. In so far as epithets are used, they serve to distinguish different sections of a clearly defined group, like the "White Ti" or the "Red Ti". We shall be returning to these names later.

The name Jung,on the other hand, is used quite differently; it is frequently combined with a Chinese word indicating their place of origin or settlement, or from whence they have come. In all these cases we can fit some general meaning to the name Jung, probably something like our "barbarian", and translate Pei Jung as the "northern barbarians", Shan Jung as the "barbarians from the mountains", and Ta Jung and Hsiao Jung as the "Big" and "Small" barbarians respectively. A similar interpretation can be applied in those cases where the name Jung is used with another name and the particle *chih*, e.g. Lu-hun chih Jung (1) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 22, L Ch Cl, p. 181 and passim), Chiu-chou chih Jung (2) (*Tso-chuan*, Chao year 22, L Ch Cl 691), Yang-chü ch'üan-kao I Lo chih Jung (3) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsi year 11, p. 158), etc. In all these cases we could translate: "the barbarians from this or that place". We can probably interpret the name Jung in the same way in all those cases where it is combined with a monosyllabic name as in Chiang Jung, Ch'iang Jung and Ch'üan Jung, i.e. the Chiang, Ch'iang or Ch'üan barbarians, or the "Dog barbarians". I agree with Wang Kuo-wei that the word Jung is a Chinese word simply meaning "bellicose". It is of course quite possible that the word has behind it the name of a certain tribe, perhaps the Jen (V 20) who were fought by the Shang kings (see p. 38 above). We could imagine a similar sounding tribal name being written as the character for "bellicose" and then becoming the general term for the idea of "barbarian" among the Chou people. This is of course pure hypothesis, but I feel that only this interpretation of the word Jung as a Chinese term meaning "barbarian" can permit analysis of these names and above all, can explain why tribes called by the name Jung are to be found through-out the Huang-ho basin and in vastly different and unconnected places. The most natural explanation is that the Chou warriors carried the term all over eastern China after the fall of the Shang, so that it is found both in the east and the west. It is a proof of the marked individuality of the Ti that the

Chinese distinguished them clearly from the Jung. In the *Kuo-yü* (ed. Wei-chieh, Chin yü, ch. 10, p. 22) a distinction is made between the Jung from Ts'ao chung (XVI 4) and the Ti from Li-t'u (XVI 5).

I agree with Maspero that for the most part we should not see in these tribes called Jung any groups fundamentally distinct from the inhabitants of the Chinese petty states, but rather groups which had not developed beyond the preceding neolithic stage of civilization, and which still lived in a society without political stratification or social hierarchy. This is how we see the various tribes against whom the Shang kings and their local governors were constantly fighting. Where we use the term "state", "country", etc. in this work, it is in the broadest sense of a degree of political unity which in fact may vary from a collection of one or more non-stratified villages, a tribe, to a higher political form with a more involved social structure. No other significance is attached to the terms as used here. Not until violent pressure from more powerful groups involved them in internal conflict did this confusion of tribal and family groups cohere into larger political units ruled by chiefs from one political centre — the town of the future — and the process of class differentiation begin. This process can be particularly well traced among the Ti.

There is little archaeological material as yet to inform us about the culture of the Ti in their original homeland, before their migration eastward, but what there is not without importance, particularly since it comes from the two localities which delimit as it were the range of Ti settlement to the north. We can put forward the hypothesis that if the culture of the Ti in the north was such as that of these two localities suggests, it was even more likely to be so further south.

The first set of finds does not come from a locality settled by the Ti from the outset, but one to which they came later, in the migration to the west; this is the T'ai-yüan basin, where, as we have already seen, the Ti lived together with the Wu-chung tribe or tribes. The very close symbiosis the two groups developed would suggest they were not very different. In addition, this region must have been under strong Chinese influence from very ancient times, from the petty Shang states in the Fen valley. As in the Fen valley, a mixed site has been discovered near I-ching (4) in the northern T'ai-yüan basin; here painted pottery occurs alongside Lungshan type grey and black ware. Near T'ai-yüan, at Kuang-she (5), traces of houses were found, with many implements of different kinds, of polished stone, and many bones of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, pigs and deer. There were also burned oracle bones made of ox shoulder-blades. The pottery is particularly characteristic, including besides the predominant corded grey ware lustrous black pottery, basket-impressed red and grey ware, and impressed red ware. The vessels are of various forms, including tripods, *hsien* steamers, etc. No wheelmade pieces have been found, however (Chang Kwang-chih 1963, p. 103).

Another mixed site, similar in this respect to that near I-ching, has been discovered in Wu-lan-kou, 110 *li* west of Fu-ku hsien (6), which is not far from Shen-mu district (VII 24) and thus in the region we attributed above (p. 54) to the northern Ti settlements. Naturally the finds in this region were of great importance for our subject, but unfortunately they were not the result of scientific excavation, but merely objects gathered on the site by G. Andersson's assistant, Chang, on a visit there in 1921. He found stone tools and pottery of a rough and primitive type; nevertheless some of the items resemble pottery found in Ho-nan, and G. Andersson (1943 p. 141) said that "there is no doubt that we have found on this site a specimen of this now famous group" (he seems to mean the Yang-shao culture). G. Andersson (p. 144) described the finds thus: "The collection contains besides the few and not very characteristic stone implements, numerous ceramics belonging to very different groups: grey pottery with mat and basket impressions, a very large eggshell urn with singular decor of incised lines, grey pottery with pitted triangles, brick-red sherds with polished surface, white pottery with mat impression, smooth white monochrome pottery, and finally the unique cream-white pottery with linear designs in red-brown".

Andersson says of this variety of shapes and colours that "this varied aspect of the ceramics does not necessarily indicate that the collection is brought together from more than one site and from more than one cultural period. All the prehistoric cultures which we have studied have this in common, that widely different groups of pottery occur together . . " We would add that this mixture of different types is particularly marked in sites lying on the periphery, where various older types probably survived longer than in the centre of cultural development, while newer types from the centre found their way among these older forms. The I-ching site is of this type, too. We should also note that Andersson stresses the unique character of the forms and ornament used on the painted sherds. Should we not take this marked individuality as a sign of the existence of certain local variants of the neolithic culture which was the common heritage of tribes which differed in some ways from the bearers of the cultures found in the Chinese centre?

Dating these finds Andersson (p. 145) believes that the Wu-lan site is "probably prehistoric, but slightly later than Yang-shao". The presence of white pottery, however, forces us to consider whether it should not be dated even later, for white pottery was primarily a feature of the Shang culture, while the specimen of black pottery would point to the Lung shan culture. All these and similar questions, such as the presence of a tiny stone chisel which suggests a microlithic foundation from which the culture might have developed, could only be answered after a thorough analysis of the finds and especially a comparison with other, more reliably dated finds elsewhere.

I do not feel that it is going too far, nevertheless, if we put forward on the basis of these finds the hypothesis that the original home of the Ti was in the sphere of those farming cultures which grew out of the ancient neolithic cultures of which the Yang shao and Lung shan were typical. It shows that these cultures existed on the northern boundaries of Ti settlement, as they did in the eastern (Fen valley region) and southern boundaries (Wei and Huang-ho valleys).

We reach the same conclusion if we analyse the references to the Ti in their original home, as we have shown above (pp. 57 ff). There are of course not very many such records, and they are not very eloquent, particularly where the life of the people is concerned. Apart from the occasional historical record they are inscriptions on Shang oracle bones and then especially inscriptions on bronzes. The inscription on the Small Yü tripod, *Hsiao Yü-t'ing* (VIII 41) is of particular importance; as we showed above (p. 61), this inscription dates from the reign of the third Chou king K'ang; the Duke of Yü led two expeditions against the Kuei and brought back rich booty. On the first of these expeditions the Duke of Yü captured two chiefs and obtained 4,812 scalps, captured 13,081 men, seized . . . horses, 30 chariots of war, 355 oxen, and 38 sheep. On the second expedition he captured one of the chiefs, obtained 237 scalps, captured . . . men, seized 104 horses and 100 (plus) chariots of war (see Dobson 1962, p. 231). The number of scalps and captives shows that the tribes involved were numerous ones, with fairly dense settlements, which suggests a more developed agriculture; it also shows the destruction these Chou raids carried with them, gradually breaking down the old ethnic and economic structure in Shen-hsi. Of particular interest is the number of horses and chariots reported among the booty, which allows us to assume that these tribes were developing the same military techniques as the Shang and later the Chou armies used: war chariots, which implies a social stratification, for the warriors riding in their chariots were in ancient times tribal aristocrats. We must deduce from this that social differentiation was already taking place. The use of tactics based on war chariots also implies a higher technical skill, unthinkable in its turn without a developed economy probably based on agriculture. We learn more of the economy of the Kuei from the references to horses, cattle and sheep among the loot. The numbers of livestock given are of course haphazard, and cannot be taken as evidence of which animals predominated in the Kuei economy, but even so the small number of sheep taken is striking. It is unlikely that if sheep were the predominant feature of Kuei life that they were in the life of the people of the Karasuk culture, the fact would not have been more apparent in the proportions of loot. The information gained here corresponds to the finds in the Kuang-she excavations near T'ai-yüan, where besides agricultural implements the bones of all the important domestic animals were found. We can tell from the Shang inscriptions that livestock occupied an important place in the economy of all these peoples; for instance, the people of T'ang complained that the members of some other tribe were grazing horses on their territory (see above, p. 36); some of the Ch'iang tribes are called "the Ch'iang of many horses", To-ma Ch'iang; and so on. It is not difficult to realise that for primitive peasants laboriously cultivating small scraps of ground with rudimentary implements, it was a hardship indeed to have herds grazing nearby.

It is of importance for our idea of how these western regions looked in Shang and early Chou times to realise that the Shang inscriptions provide us with a similar picture for the Wei (VIII 25), who as we have seen (p. 60 above) must have lived somewhere to the south of the Kuei, in south-eastern Shen-hsi or the adjacent parts of Shan-hsi. In reports of expeditions against the Wei, too, we read of large numbers of captives and of scalps, and also of chariots. We must assume that in various regions round the Chinese centre there arose out of the original neolithic cultures new economic forms which presented the same features as the corresponding stages in the central Chinese region.

In the Chinese regions the main feature of this newly stratified society was the emergence of fortified towns. In the original home of the Ti in the west we hear of the existence of a fortified town in the account of the subjugation of the Ti-cha tribe (XVI 39) by Duke Hsien of Chin (see above, p. 140). An official named Hsi Shu-hu (7) or Hsi Pao (8) is described mounting the town wall (*Kuo-yü Wei-chieh*, ch. 7, Chin-yü 1, p. 142). We hear of no other towns in Western Ti territory, but we have no reason to assume that there were none, since the Western Ti probably had a more advanced social organization than the others, as we shall see below.

As we have shown in Chapter XXI, there were many towns in the territory of the Northern Ti, but it is a debatable point whether they should be considered as created by the Ti or inherited from the original Chinese population, whose way of life was taken over by the immigrant Ti and to which they became assimilated. It is equally a matter for discussion whether the many hill-top settlements among these Ti tribes represented a form they had brought with them from their original home, or a form they developed in response to a specific situation: the need to defend themselves against the numerous subjugated inhabitants who were at a higher level of civilization, and against the horse-nomads hovering on their north-west frontiers. It is noteworthy that we hear of no fortified towns in the course of the subjugation of the Red Ti in the Lu-ch'eng basin (see p. 168 above) in south-east Shan-hsi. Probably these bands of bellicose warriors did not feel the need to fortify their settlements, or else they lacked the necessary economic foundations. It is interesting, however, that the name of the Lu tribe (XVIII 7) has survived to the present day in this area, in the name of the town of Lu-ch'eng; it must therefore have been a centre of some importance.

We gain a clearer idea of the way of life and economy of the Ti after their migration to the east; from accounts of their battles and military activity we can come to some conclusions about their way of life.

It is a striking feature of all the accounts that the Ti are described as foot soldiers; there is no mention of either mounted warriors or war-chariots. Ma Ch'ang-shou (1962, p. 14) quotes the *Kuan-tzu* (ch. 8, chapter *Hsiao-k'uang ti erh-shih* (9), ed. Han-fen-lou 1928, pp. 11a—11b; in the text of the *Kuan-tzu chi chiao* 1956 this passage has been considerably shortened), where he claims the Ti are described as "mounted raiders". In fact his reading of this passage is very free: "There was not a single Duke in Ching-chou who would have dared not to come and submit. In the centre (Duke Huan) helped Chin, caught the Ti king, defeated Hu-mo (?) (10), crushed T'u-ho (11) and the mounted raiders (12) were defeated for the first time. In the north he attacked the Mountain Jung, organized Ling-chih (13), cut off the head (of the ruler) of Ku-chu (14) and nine tribes of barbarians began to obey him. There was no duke on the sea coast who dared not to come and submit to him". It is a question whether the phrase "mounted raiders" refers to the Ti; but primarily this passage has no value for the ancient history of the Ti on account of the piling up of half fantastic names. If anything is proved by this text, it is no more than the obvious fact that there existed "mounted raiders" in the north at the time when the text came into being, which must have been fairly late since the real history of Duke Huan's expedition was already overlaid by a fantastic romance.

The Ti appear as foot soldiers in the battle of Ta-lu or T'ai-yüan (see p. 174) in 541; here they were not alone, but fighting side by side with the Wu-chung. The auxiliary force of the Ti seem to have fought on foot, too, in the battle of An (16) in 589. The *Tso-chuan* (Ch'eng year 2, Ch Cl V, p. 340) describes how the defeated Duke of Ch'i who took to flight found himself among Ti soldiers (17), who held out their shields and *ko* axes, to shelter him and give him the chance to reach the Wei army. These foot soldiers of the Ti were armed with shields and pikes, like the Chinese infantry. The heroic warriors whose deeds are told in the source materials also fought on foot, like the giant Ti Szu-mi (18) — whose name would suggest Ti origin — who fought with a leather-covered wheel in one hand as a shield, and a *chi* axe in the other (19) (*Tso-chuan* L Ch Cl V, pp. 442—443), and did the work of a whole company of men. Very similar is the description given above p. 208 of the heroic fight of Wu Ch'iu-chen (or -tan) (20) of Chung-shan, who fell against Chao. The Ti who stood guard over a certain prisoner (see above, p. 170) also seem to have been foot soldiers.

We must assume that the Ti usually fought on foot, like the tribes of Northern or Mountain barbarians, whose method of fighting, different from that of the Chinese, is explicitly so described by the *Tso-chuan* (see p. 137 above). They may also have worn leather breastplates like the Northern barbarians. We have already pointed out that the Kuei, whom we identify with the Ti, were equipped with chariots, which means that at the very dawn of history chariot fighting must have spread in the western regions inhabited by these tribes. Is the return to the older form of fighting on foot simply the impression given us by the sources, which report only certain aspects of the battle, probably quite accidental? Or should we see in this change of tactics the influence of a new and different environment? The latter explanation appears more probable in the light of the fact that in the fighting with the Wu-chung even the Chinese adapted themselves to conditions in northern Shan-hsi, leaving their chariots and fighting on foot. We should not forget, however, that these references to the Ti as foot soldiers concern the period after the subjugation of the Red Ti, when the aristocracy had probably already been annihilated.

There are points in the history of the Ti, nevertheless, which provoke us to wonder whether this picture of the Ti fighting on foot is entirely accurate. If they were exclusively foot soldiers it is surprising that they dared to sweep down from the Lu-ngan basin in the T'ai-hang range so far to the south, and east into Ch'i, Lu and even Sung, all states on the further bank of the Huang-ho. Foot soldiers weighted down with loot would be easy prey for Chinese warriors in their chariots, in the level plain. This suggests the possibility of the Ti, while fighting on foot, nevertheless using horses for transport of their warriors, thus transforming them into a sort of mounted infantry while on the march.

There is also the question of how to interpret the epithet of "giant", "big", "tall", occurring in the sources. Where the subject is an individual endowed with remarkable physical strength, like the Ti Szu-mi and Wu Ch'iu-chen described above, that in itself is sufficient explanation. Can we use the same explanation, however, for the legends about Ch'ang Ti, "Ti giants" (see p. 27 above), about the "Tall Duke" (IX 30) (see p. 67) or the adjective *chiai* (IX 40) in the sense of "tall" used with the name Ti in the *Shih-ching* (see p. 69)? We should not overlook the fact that among many peoples the word for "giant" has been taken from the name of some mounted tribe with whom they habitually fought on foot. This the case in Czech, where the word "obr", giant, comes from the name Avar; and in Georgian, where the word "gmiri", hero, is derived from the name of the Cimmerians, just as is the word "gumir", giant, in Ossetian legends (see R. Bleichsteiner 1939, p. 13). Is it not likely that besides the physical attributes of the Ti, and their exceptional courage, these legends of giants owe something to the fact that the Ti would appear suddenly, on horseback, even if in battle they fought on foot? This is no more than a suggestion which could only be confirmed by archaeology, if at all. The fact remains that for the Chinese the Ti remained a people of giants, bold raiders and courageous warriors, remarkable for their great physical strength.

They were not true horse-nomads, however, and the predominant references to the Ti as fighting on foot force us to conclude that they were primarily farmers, particularly in the areas where large settlements were already well developed. We reached this conclusion from our analysis of the references to the Kuei, as well. In any case, their economy was certainly not founded on the breeding of large herds of horses. This view is confirmed by what we know of the administration of the territory of the Red Ti after their defeat. In the *Tso-chuan* (p. 327, see above, p. 169) we read that Hsün Lin-fu, the victorious Chin general, was rewarded with "a thousand families of Ti serfs" (21). The word *ch'en*, serfs, is used in the sources for the bondmen who worked the land for Chinese masters. In this particular case we cannot say whether the serfs were Ti tribesmen reduced to the level of serfs, the original Chinese population, or Chinese captives who worked as serfs for their masters. We can assume, however, that the Ti had their serfs, and that these were employed on the land.

The rest of our information about the Ti way of life comes in anecdotal form and cannot be given greater credit than such. There is one such anecdote in *Han Fei-tzu* (ed. *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen*, ch. 21, ch. 7, ch. 21, *Yü Lao* (22), p. 34; cf. W. K. Liao, *The Complete Works* of Han Fei-tzu, p. 207), about how a Ti presented to Duke Wen of Chin fox furs with thin-haired tails and leopard skins with black spots, and how the Duke of Wen sighed that "because of the beauty of their skins these animals had become the victims of chastisement". This typical anecdote serving to illustrate a moral sentence, applicable to any occasion whatsoever, cannot serve as evidence of the Ti economy. Nor can we conclude anything from the comment in the *Tso-chuan* (see p. 173 above) that the Wu-chung and the Ti are always on the move and eagerly exchange land for goods. The question at once arises whether these tribes should be considered as primitive farmers always moving on to open up new fields, or as shepherds, or as hunters, or as combining all these employments in various ways? As for the story of the furs, we must ask ourselves whether this is merely a stereotyped conception of the northern people, commonly supposed to wear furs. On the other hand, there had always been a trade route through T'ai-yüan, bringing furs into China, and the report of a Wu-chung emissary bringing tiger and leopard skins to the Duke of Chin is highly credible, even if we cannot use it to form any idea of the economy of these tribes.

Even less significance can be attached to the conventional descriptions of barbarians such as that in the *Li-chi* (ed. *Shih-san ching*, ch. *Wang chih* (23), p. 15b; cf. Legge, the Li Ki 1885 (1926), Vol. 1, p. 229), dealing with the barbarians from all four quarters of the globe; here the Ti are said to wear the skins of animals and birds and dwell in caves. Such schematic descriptions have no basis in fact.

Of special significance in the life of the Ti, and perhaps in their economy as well, was the dog; in the *Shih Chi*, at least, in the Chao chronicles, we find a dog mentioned "of the kind kept by the Ti, and this dog is said to be the ancestor of the Tai ruler" (24) (see Ch M H V, pp. 28ff). It is of course difficult to determine the function of the dog among the Ti tribes, whether the animal was important from a religious or an economic point of view — as food. Earlier (p. 84) we pointed out the importance of the dog for the Karasuk culture, where many barrows contain a special compartment for the dead man's dog. We may suppose this importance of the dog in Ti life to be some evidence of a link with these northern cultures. On the other hand we also saw that the sheep did not play any great part in the economy of the Kuei, and therefore of the Ti; indeed we could explain the migration of Karasuk tribes to the north by the development of conflict between these sheep-grazing people, who were perhaps related to the Ch'iang mentioned earlier, and the people of the Chinese cultures, but primarily between them and the northern tribes who, like the Ti, possessed horses and chariots; their whole way of life as farmers equipped with horses must necessarily have conflicted with the way of life of tribes grazing their flocks.

The information we have tried to summarise here makes it most probable that the Ti were settled farmers, and practically excludes the possibility of their being horse-nomads.

We reach the same conclusion if we analyse the references to the political and social organization of the Ti. We have already said that we should not regard the non-Chinese groups mentioned in the sources, whether Shang bronzes or written documents, as racially and linguistically totally different from the Chinese; by non-Chinese we mean those groups which remained outside the political systems formed by the Chinese tribes. We should rather regard them as groups which had remained at a lower cultural and economic stage of development and had no place in the Chinese social stratification. We can trace this clearly in the history of the Ti. The earliest record of the Ti comes from the Annals of the Bamboo Books and concerns (as we saw on pp. 59 — 60 above) an expedition against the Kuei by the Chou king Chi (VIII 26), grandfather of the founder of the Chou dynasty, Wu, in the course of which "twenty Ti kings" were captured. This large number of "kings" shows that these Kuei or Ti were split up into many clans each with its own chief and perhaps with an aristocracy already developing. A similar situation seems to have obtained among other tribes on the Chinese periphery, as we have already shown; for instance, at least four chiefs, and perhaps more, were taken prisoner during an expedition against the Wei (VIII 25) (Li Hsüeh-ch'in, 1959, p. 73). References to the capture of two chiefs are fairly common as in the expedition against the Kuei led by Duke Yü, discussed above (p.213). This state of affairs was aptly described by Szu-ma Ch'ien in the 110th chapter of his *Shih-chi* (ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 3; cf. de Groot 1921, p. 23); his description of the life of the barbarians to the north and west of China tells how "each of them (the tribes he has listed) lives scattered along the rivers and valleys, each with its own rulers and chiefs, who may manage to get a hundred barbarians together, but nobody has yet succeeded in uniting them". This form of political organization, fundamentally "aristocratic and feudal", brings these tribes close to those of the south, as H. Maspero rightly pointed out (1927 A, p. 20), to the Thai, Lolos, Mossos, Miao-tzu and others of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, incurably anarchic tribes whom often "only foreign rule could force into a larger social unit than the village". The existence of clan names among the Ti suggests a closer connection with the Chinese and their aristocratic hierarchization; in the old sources the clan name Wei (II 7) is often found, but others given by later writers are suspect.

At the dawn of history the Ti probably also lived this anarchic kind of life, forming a closer-knit society only slowly in the course of time. In the case of the Red Ti we are still dealing with groups of aristocratic clans; the duke mentioned is only the chief of one of the main clans, but in opposition to him there is another powerful individual, perhaps a tribal chief. Nevertheless the Red Ti take united action, so that we must assume the existence of some form of confederation organizing individual campaigns. We cannot know whether it took the form of a council of clan chiefs, or some other form. In contrast to the aristocratic clans there was the mass of the Ti, *chung Ti*, perhaps the simple people. The western Ti were all united fairly early under the Duke of the White Ti, who is frequently mentioned in the sources, as we have already seen.

Among the Northern Ti we find two typical petty city states: Fei and Ku, and a fairly large territory belonging to the Hsien-yü, with many fortified places. The ruler of the Hsien-yü, whose state began to be known as Chung-shan, after the name of the capital, adopted the Chinese title *kung*, Duke, and used Chinese names (see p. 192 above). There can be no doubt that the urban civilization of

Chung-shan was based on agriculture, but it is difficult to say whether this was due to the habits of the immigrant Ti or the original inhabitants.

It is possible that social and class distinctions determined the division of the Ti into two groups, the Red and the White Ti, as they appear in the source materials. It might be argued that there were geographical reasons for this division, and that the White Ti may have been those settled in the west while the Red Ti were settled in the south. This was the point of view accepted by Ma Ch'ang-shou (1962), who believed it reflected shamanist ideas based on colour symbolism. Reports in the *Tso-chuan* make it quite clear, however, that the Red Ti were not the only people living in south-east Shan-hsi; there were other Ti there called the "people" (25) (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 6, Ch Cl V, p. 298; and perhaps Ch'eng year 3, Ch Cl V, p. 351), or *chung Ti* (26), "the Ti masses", "the Ti people". These "masses" or this "people" hated the Red Ti, for whom they were forced to do *i* (27) corvée and probably owed military service as well (*Tso-chuan*, Hsüan year 11, Ch Cl V, p. 309); they joined forces with the state of Chin and deserted their "masters". It is quite clear that the term Red Ti was not a geographical one and did not distinguish the bearers of it from other Ti living in other places; it was a political and particularly a social term, distinguishing one group of implacable enemies of Chin from others who were tired of fighting and anxious to come to terms; it was primarily the distinction between one aristocratic ruling group and another subordinate group. We should not forget that the term *chung* was used in the Chinese petty states for the members of the village communities, mainly peasants who fought on foot and were sharply differentiated from the aristocrats fighting in their chariots. The complete significance of these differences is not clear however, for after the final defeat of the Ti Chin wiped out the tribes or clans of the Red Ti one after the other, so that these aristocratic clans must have lived elsewhere than the *chung* Ti or mass of Ti people. We should perhaps conclude from this that one set of clans dominated the rest, and that it was not only a question of the distinction between aristocrats and common people; there was thus no horizontal division running right through the population of the given territory.

The Chinese used the term *shih* (28) for the Red Ti tribes. The word was used for various barbarian tribes particularly those with monosyllabic names like Man shih (29) (*Tso-chuan*, Ch'eng year 6, Ch Cl V, p. 661 et passim), and then for the aristocratic Chinese families. These were clearly groups with a common origin, the members of which considered themselves related. They could be larger groups, that what we should call a tribe, e.g. the Lu had a ruler, Lu Tzu (30) (*Tso-chuan* Hsüan year 15, Ch Cl V 326); and on the other hand there were probably other clans in this tribe, from which Feng-shu perhaps came, the man who seized the ruling position over the Red Ti, *wei-cheng* (31), as the sources relate. Other groups were small tribes or isolated clans easily annihilated once the ruling tribe had been dealt with. We do not hear of tribes among the White Ti; the unifying process presumably went on longer and ended in the union of all the local Ti under a single White Ti ruler.

Whether the aristocratic Red Ti clans wore different-coloured clothing to distinguish them from the others, as the *Shu* (32) commentary to the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, Hsüan year 15, supposed, we do not know. Lü Szu-nien (1934) accepted this interpretation and pointed out that in the T'ang period various tribes of southern barbarians were distinguishable by their dress. It is of course quite thinkable that the term "Red Ti" simply referred to the colourful aristocrats as distinguished from the "colourless" common people.

It is difficult to say whether the term "White Ti" arose simply as the counterpart to the "Red" Ti, or whether it originally meant, for instance, "western". The different names assigned to the various groups show how vast the Ti territory was, and at the same time force us to conclude that the one thing all these groups have in common, the name Ti, cannot have been a general designation, like "barbarian", but must have been a specific name denoting a people differing from the rest primarily by their language, and perhaps by their cultural complex as well.

We have even less material at our disposal for an attempt to delineate the national and linguistic character of the Ti than we have for a description of their social and economic system. The linguistic material is limited to the national name, Ti, the clan name, Wei (II 7), and the name Kuei (II 2) which we have shown to be related to it; then there are the names of some of the Ti tribes, such as Kao-lo (XVI 8), Ch'iang kao-ju (II 34), Lu (XVIII 7), Liu-yü (XVIII 13), To-ch'en (XVIII 14), Chia (XVII 22), Fei (II 33), Ku (II 50) and Hsien-yü (II 24). We also know a few personal names: Ying-erh (XVIII 10), Feng-shu (III 25) or Fen-ju (III 20), Chiao-ju (III 9), Mien-kao (XXII 1) and Yüan-t'i (XXII 5) or Yüan-chih (XXII 6). It is doubtful whether we can also consider the name Chia-fu (XX 8), the Duke of Wu-chung, since we do not know exactly what the relationship between the Ti and the Wu-chung was, or whether their languages were related. For the same reason we are unable to include in our list Ta-lu (XVII 2), said to be the barbarians' name for T'ai-yüan, since we do not know whether it was the Ti or the Wu-chung name. Nor can we make use of the names of the towns in Chung shan, since they are very probably Chinese names. Chung-shan itself was probably the Chinese name for the country the Ti themselves called Hsien-yü.

The fact that there are two transcriptions for some of these names suggests that they were foreign, of non-Chinese origin, as in the case of the name Ti for which there are two forms: the first reads *d'iek—ti*, the second *d'iok(d'iek)-ti*, showing that one and the same word lay behind both, pronounced *d'iok* or *d'iek*. These variants in the orthography were probably local; the first was used mainly in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and the *Tso-chuan*. Only on two occasions does the second form appear in the course of a narrative in the *Tso-chuan* (Hsi year 5, Ch Cl V, p. 143; Chao year 1, Ch Cl V p. 572). It is significant that both passages concern the affairs of Chin, the first case indeed those of the romantic story of prince Ch'ung-erh. Since the second form was used consistently in the Annals of the Bamboo Books, the oldest parts of which were the chronicles of the state of Chin, we must assume that the second form of the name was that used in Chin and perhaps further west in Ch'in, too, since it also appears in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*. The first form was probably the one used in the east, since it appears in Confucianist writings, in the *Lun-yü*, in the works of Mencius, etc. It is even found in the *Kuo-yü*, while in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e*, on the contrary, we find oscillation between the two forms, understandable in so late and heterogeneous a work. These local differences in the way the name Ti was written are clear proof that they were transcriptions of a foreign name, and the view of Wang Kuo-wei that this was a Chinese name for this people is obviously incorrect.

Similarly the two forms of the name Yüan-t'i are obviously different transcriptions of one and the same foreign name, which was pronounced *diwan - iwän - t'ieg* (or *d'ieg*), or *iwan-t'ieg*. The names of the giants in the legend of the Tall Ti present an interesting problem, but for our purposes we can only use Feng-shu (or Fen-ju) and Ch'iao-ju, because the provenience of the other names is questionable. The names Huei (33), snake, and Pao (8), leopard, which occur in the second version of the defeat of the Tall Ti at Hsien (*Tso-chuan* Hsiang year 9, Ch Cl V, 552) would suggest that these were purely Chinese names having nothing to do with the names of the barbarians. We might assume that only Ch'iao-ju (III 9) was named after the Ti giant, in the first version of the legend (*Tso-chuan* Wen year 11, Ch Cl V, p. 257). Later the memory of these matters died out and the names of both his brothers were explained as having come from the barbarians, too. However that may be, the only name we can safely base our arguments on is that of Ch'iao-ju. As I have already suggested, the Fen-ju (III 20) of the legend was probably Feng-shu (III 25), the Ti chief mentioned in the *Tso-chuan*. The old pronunciation of the first variant was probably *biwen* > *b'iuen* — *nio* > *ňźiwo*, while that of the second was *p'ong* > *p'iung* — *s'io* > *śiwo*, which are not so different as to render it impossible that the two names were one and the same. It is noteworthy that the syllable *ju* or *shu*, formerly pronounced *nio* or *s'io*, appears in the second half of both these giants' names.

It looks as though the names of the brothers were formed on the same principles as the names of brothers in Chinese, where one part of the name remained unchanged in each; cf. Chou Shu-*jen* and Chou Tso-*jen*. The names of another two giants in the legend are formed in the same way, and even the third name, Yüan-szu, could have been formed according to the same principle, for *sieg* > *siei* > *si* can be a distortion of the word *nio* or *śio* > *śiwo*. It would thus appear that the Ti names were formed on a similar principle to that followed by the Chinese, but we should remember that legendary names are not the most suitable for this type of argument, since they may sometimes be formed in imitation of others, just as series of imitative legends grew up. There is a striking similarity between these names and that of the Ch'iang-kao-ju tribe (II 34), where we again find the syllable *nio* > *nźiwo* as the final component. This suggests that the word may have been a general term, like "man"; this would be a proof that the names were not transcriptions of polysyllabic words, but composites made up of mainly monosyllabic words, like the majority of basic Chinese words. It does not seem to me, however, that we can go further than this in our deductions from these names.

Although we do not know whether the name Ta-lu, said to be the barbarian name for T'ai-yüan, belonged to the language of the Ti or that of the Wu-chung, it nevertheless deserves our attention. There is the obvious suggestion that Ta-lu was the barbarian translation of the Chinese name T'ai-yüan, the Great Plain — or vice versa — which would mean that *ta* = *t'ai*, "great", and *lu* = *yüan*, "plain"; in other words, at least some words of this barbarian tongue would be close to those of the Chinese language. We have pointed out above (p. 142) that the Chinese sources identify the Northern Barbarians (Pei Jung) with the Mountain Barbarians (Shan Jung), and that the Wu-chung in the T'ai-yüan basin probably belonged to them. In the account of the defeat of the Northern Barbarians (*Tso-chuan*, Huan year 6, Ch Cl V, p. 47) we are told that two of their chiefs were taken captive, Ta Liang (34) and Shao Liang (35). The hypothesis could be put forward that in *Ta* we have the same word as in Ta-lu, and that it is in fact "great", or in this case perhaps "older in years". Then Shao would really be "young" or "younger in years". Behind the word *liang*, the ancient *liang*, we could see the Chinese *lang* (36), formerly pronounced *lang* and meaning "gentleman". We could perhaps infer from this that these tribes spoke a language in which some words, at least, were not too far removed from Chinese.

There is only one general observation to be added to what we have just said: of these twenty names seven are monosyllabic, twelve bisyllabic, and one has three syllables. We cannot of course say which of these are basically monosyllabic and which are composites. If we compare these words with the first twenty terms and names in the Hsiung-nu language as given by de Groot (1921, chapter IV, pp. 51 to 57), although it can only be a very rough comparison because it is difficult to differentiate between Hsiung-nu words and basically Chinese names, the results are nevertheless interesting. In the Hsiung-nu list we find one monosyllabic, twelve two-syllable and three three-syllable names, which represents a marked drop in monosyllabic terms and an increase in the two and three-syllable words. We could perhaps conclude from this primitive comparison that the language of the Ti and related tribes such as the Wu-chung and others, were basically of the same type as Chinese and the other Indo-Chinese languages, and differed fundamentally from the Hsiung-nu language, whatever may have been the nature of that language. This brief glance at the linguistic material confirms the conclusions we have reached in our investigation of the social, cultural and economic life of these tribes, and seems to strengthen the evidence that these tribes belonged to the great family of Sino-Tibetan-Thai tribes, not to the Altai or Paleo-Asian family, as was the case with the Hsiung-nu.[11]

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[11] It should be noted in this connection that Conrady's theory, quoted by Haloun (1924, p. 615, Note 1), is supported by too little evidence to deserve serious consideration; Conrady's promised work on the subject seems never to have been published. He based his idea of a connection between the Chou language and that of the I-ch'ü (37) and also that of the Hsiung-nu,

There is yet another weighty argument in favour of our view that the Ti and related tribes belonged to the agricultural cultures developed by the Indo-Chinese peoples in the Huang-ho basin, which were fundamentally different from the cultures of the Great Wall belt. The Chinese used different words to refer to the Ti, distinguishing them from the people of the Great Wall belt among whom horse-nomadism later developed and who were probably racially quite distinct also.

In ancient times the Chinese called their northern barbarian neighbours Ti or Jung Ti, or occasionally Chui (II 46) and Me (II 30), as we have seen (p. 61 above). Later, however, when the expansion of the northern petty states, particularly of Chao and Yen, broke through the buffer of barbarian tribes on the northern frontiers of the Chinese federation and brought the Chinese into direct contact with the nomads of the steppe, they no longer used the old terms Ti and Jung: these were replaced by Hu, or Hu Me (42). Hu or Hu Me do not occur in the Chinese sources until a later period; they are not found in the *Shu-ching*, or the *Shih-ching*, in Confucianist works like the *Lun-yü* and *Meng-tzu*, in historical works like the *Tso-chuan* or the *Kuo-yü*, or in the Ch'in chronicles in the *Shih-chi*. The term Hu appears for the first time in the *Chou-li*, where it is said that the bow and the chariot are essential among the Hu and therefore every man is able to make bows and chariots (*Chou-li* ed. Shih-san ching, Sung-pen, section Tung kuan (43), K'ao-kung-chi (44) part 6, p. 1b; cf. E. Biot, Le Tcheou-li, Paris 1851, Vol. 2, p. 459). The dating of this part of the *Chou-li* presents difficulties, as it was inserted later to replace a part which had been lost. Probably the earliest reliable reference to the Hu is to be found in Mo Ti (ed. Sun I-jang, *Mo-tzu hsien-ku*, ch. 5, 18, p. 89), where we read that a certain country, the identity of which is a matter of doubt, perished among Yen, Tai and Hu Me. Practically the same context is found once again in Mo Ti (ch. 4, 2, 15, p. 71); here we learn that Yü built a dam to the north, for the benefit of Yen, Tai, Hu Me and the people west of the Yellow River. The Hu Me are also mentioned by Hsün-tzu (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, Wan Yu wen-k'u, chap. *Chiang-kuo pien* (45) 16, p. 48), where Ch'in is said to have them on her northern border. They are also mentioned in the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (ed. Szu pu ts'ung k'an ch. 14, p. 11a). In the *Kuan-zu* (ed. Han-fen-lou, ch. 8, p. 11b), as we have shown above (p. 211), the name of the Hu Me comes into the list of Duke Huan of Ch'i's campaigns. (The editors of the *Kuan-tzu chi-chiao* have shortened this passage, however). As far as I have been able to ascertain the term Hu is not found in Han Fei-tzu or Chuang-tzu,

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on the name K'un-ya (38) or Hun-ya (39) among the I-ch'ü (*Shih-chi*, Ch, 109, ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng, p. 3, and the commentary to the K'ao-cheng, *Ch'ien Han-shu*, ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, ch. 54. p. 41b); further on the name of the kingdom Hun-ya (39) or (40) among the Hsiung-nu (*Shih-chi*, ch. 110: ed. Ku Chieh-kang p. 17 et passim uses the second form while ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng p. 51 et passim uses the first); and finally on the personal name Chün-ya (41) among the Chou (*Shu-ching* ch. 25, Ch Cl III, p. 578). These similarities may be pure coincidence, and in any case, as we saw in the case of the legend of Sou-man (p. 281 above) fluctuation of names between the Chinese and the barbarians was not unusual.

but from Han times onwards it became the general term for the northern nomads, as we can see from various relevant chapters in the *Shih-chi*. The fact that the name is used by Mo-tzu suggests that it became common in the fifth century, and it is not improbable that this occurred in connection with Chao expansion northwards. In 457 B.C. Chao seized Tai, and thus came into direct contact with the northern nomads. Szu-ma Ch'ien (ch. 110, ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 3) also stresses that the conquest of Tai brought Chao into immediate contact with the Hu Me (46) (cf. de Groot 1921, p. 31).

I do not think, nevertheless, that we should interpret the appearance of this term in the Chinese sources to mean that horse nomadism had not spread earlier in the regions adjacent to China in the north, as some writers have done. The nomads could have been there for centuries, but as it was only now the Chinese came into direct contact with them, it was only now that they realised their existence. They also felt the need to designate them by some new name, probably in order to distinguish them from the barbarians they had experience of earlier.

Terms already used by the Chinese to indicate barbarians, like Jung and Ti, drew attention to a certain distinction between them and the Chinese, but it was a political rather than a cultural, economic or linguistic distinction. We have seen how difficult it is to determine in what ways the Ti differed from the Chinese, and most of the descriptions by Chinese authors are the product of later speculation. When we come to the Hu or Hu Me, however, the description is quite clear: they were mounted warriors, primarily archers on horseback, as we can see from comments in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* and elsewhere. In ch. 19, for example (ed. Szu-pu pei-yao, p. 7b) King Wu-ling of Chao is made to say: "Now to the east of our land are the waters of the (Yellow) River and the Po-lo (47) (another name for the Chang-shui (48) and we share them with Ch'i and Chung-shan, but we have neither boats nor oars. The frontiers of Yen and Tung Hu (51) run from the mountain Ch'ang (49) (Heng-shan) to Tai east of Shang-tang (50) (perhaps Lu-ngan). To the west our frontier lies with Lou-fan (52), Ch'in and Han, and we have no mounted archers. Therefore I wish to gather supplies of boats and oars and ask the people living on the water to guard the waters of the (Yellow) River and the Po-lo. I wish to change the clothing and form companies of mounted archers in order to protect our frontiers against the three Hu, Lou-fan, Ch'in and Han". Here, as in many other passages in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e*, the most important measure taken by Chao against their enemies was to change their costume and form companies of mounted archers. It is clear that King Wu-ling – or rather the author of this passage in the *Chan-kuo-ts'e* – was thinking of the horse-nomads, whose most striking feature was their special way of dressing, suited to fighting on horseback, fast riding, and archery. Szu-ma Ch'ien (ch. 27, ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 26) defined the Hu Me, Yüeh-chih and other tribes of the north-west as "people who dressed in felt and furs and shot from bows" (53). There can be no doubt that the whole way of life of people described in these terms differed both from that of the Chinese and of the barbarians they had hitherto known.

The name Hu seems to have been a general term at this period, not the name of a specific people. This is the only way to explain the term San (54) or Ts'an Hu (55), translatable only as the "three Hu (tribes or peoples)" and the term Tung Hu (51), "eastern Hu", perhaps to distinguish them from the Western or some other Hu. It is difficult to say whether we should take Lin Hu (56) as a Chinese term, meaning "the forest Hu", or as the transcription of a barbarian name. The generalized function of the term Hu can be seen from the name Hu Me, which is clearly also a general term formed by the combination of the names Hu and Me. Me, as we have seen (p. 64), was a general term for the barbarians, and when the need arose for a general term to indicate the new type of barbarian nomads in the north, the new name Hu was added to the old Me.

The word Hu is probably not of Chinese origin; it may have been the name of a tribe, but by the time it became part of the Chinese geographical nomenclature it was a general term which cannot be attributed to any known people. In Han times it became the term for all the nomads of the north as well as for the Hsiung-nu, and in this sense it occurs frequently in the *Shih-chi* and other sources. In the *Shih-chi*, for example, we read (ch. 30, ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 3): "Then the Han generals would set forth each year with tens of thousands of mounted men and attack the Hu, and thus General Wei Ch'ing (57) took from the Hsiung-nu land which lay south of the River (the Ordos of today)".

It would be wrong, of course, to identify the name Hu with the Hsiung-nu and imagine, for instance, that the use of this name implies that the Hsiung-nu had penetrated as far as this region.

Unless they are referring to the northern nomads in general, the Chinese sources make a clear distinction between the Hsiung-nu and the Hu tribes. Szu-ma Ch'ien introduces his account of the founder of the power of the Hsiung-nu, T'ou-man (58), in these words: "At that time the Eastern Hu were strong and the Yüeh-chih were at the height of their power" (*Shih-chi*, ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 4). It is quite clear that the Tung-hu were distinct from the Hsiung-nu, and we must therefore conclude that Hu was not originally a term used to denote the Hsiung-nu, but that it was only applied to them later, when it became accepted as a general word for all the northern nomads.

In the biography of Li Mu (59), the Chao general under King Hsiao-ch'eng (60), 265-244 (*Shih-chi* ch. 81, ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 10ff), the defeat of the Hsiung-nu is given in the same sentence as that of various Hu tribes like the Lin-hu, Tung-hu and Tan-lan (61) (p. 11). Not even here are these tribes identified with the Hsiung-nu, however. The account is such a legendary one, nevertheless, that it cannot help us to form any picture of the relations between these tribes at that period.

The words quoted above, and attributed to King Wu-ling of Chao, give us a somewhat more exact localization of these tribes; the Tung-hu are to the east of a line from Ch'ang-shan (alias Heng-shan) to Tai, and the Lou-fan to the west. In the same context King Wu-ling speaks of the Three Hu, although he has only given two barbarian tribes or groups. Most readers have assumed that the Lin Hu were the third tribe concerned; in the *Shih-chi* ch. 110 (ed. Ku Chieh-kang,

p. 3) the Lin-hu nand Lou-fan are put together and placed to the north of Chin. It is noteworthy, however, that in this context the Lou-fan are called Jung. In my opinion this designation was necessary for purely terminological reasons; whereas the name Lin-hu itself indicates that the people were barbarians, in the case of the Lou-fan this fact had to be made clear.

As is only to be expected with a nomad people, their settlements cannot be determinated exactly; in fact the only indication we have in the old source materials is the one quoted above, namely that the Lou-fan lived west of Chao and particularly of Tai, and that together with the Lin-hu they lived to the north of Chin. According to the *So-yin* commentary to the *Shih-chi* 110 (ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng, p. 10), quoting *Ti-li chih* (62), Lou-fan was a district belonging to Yen-men (63). According to Ying Shao (64) the ancient territory of Lou-fan was the land of the Hu. Yen itself is a very vague territorial unit; apparently it comprized the northern part of Tai-chou (65) and Ning-wu (66), the southern part of Sho-p'ing (67) and the eastern part of Ta-t'ung (68). It thus covered a large area of the present Shen-hsi north of 39° N. The Geographical Dictionary gives it as the regions of Pao-te-chou (69), Ning-wu-fu (66) and K'o-lan hsien (70), south of Pao-te and Ning-wu. According to the *Kua-ti chih* it was this district of Lan which was the home of the Lou-fan.

As a rule the Lin-hu are localized in practically the same region, and according to the *So-yin* (*Shih-chi* ch. 110, ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng, p. 10) they are identified with the Tan-lin; according to the *Kua-ti-chih* these latter lived in Shuo chou (71), now the district of the same name north-north-east of Ning-wu. Tan-lin, another form of which was (72), was surely another transcription for Tan-lan (61), defeated by Li Mu. The form Tan-lin (72) occurs in the *Ch'ien Han-shu* (ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien ch. 50, p. 36b), in connection with the campaigns of Li Mu. On the other hand this account of Li Mu's fighting shows that the Lin Hu and the Tan-lin or Tan-lan were two distinct and probably quite different tribes. The name Tan-lin or Tan-lan seems to have some connection with the name Tai-lin (73) which was where the Hsiung-nu gathered in the autumn (*Shih-chi* ch. 110, ed. Ku Chieh-kang, p. 7). It is possible that the Hsiung-nu seized the land belonging to Hu tribes and made their centre there.

These references to the Hu tribes west of Chao show that before the unification of China the Chinese were only acquainted with some Hu tribes on their immediate frontiers. Chao came into contact particularly with the tribes on the western Tai border, but the sporadic and vague reports in the sources prove that the Chinese horizons remained bound, at that time, to the region bordering on the territories under direct rule of the Chinese petty states. The geographical horizons of the peasant Chinese were far narrower than those of the mercantile-minded Greeks.

The name Tung Hu was probably formed in the same way as San Hu and perhaps Lin Hu as well; the foundation for all three was the name Hu. It would be wrong to conclude from this, however, that these three had racial, linguistic or cultural affinities. While the western tribes were probably nomads of the Scythian type, the Tung Hu living on the southern borders of Manchuria were probably of a different type, judging from the archaeological material. The *Shih-chi* (ch. 110, ed. Hui-chu k'ao-cheng, p. 13) gives the southern limits of Tung Hu settlement when it records that the state of Yen built a Great Wall from Ts'ao-yang (74) to Hsiang-p'ing (75) and established the commanderies of Shang-ku (76), Yü-yang (77), Yu-pei-p'ing (78), Liao-hsi (79) and Liao-tung (80) as a defence against the Hu. Ts'ao-yang corresponds to the present Huai-lai (81) on the boundary of Chahar and Ho-pei. De Groot (1921, p. 37) believes this region was in the neighbourhood of Yen-ch'ing district (82). The old town of Hsiang-p'ing lies 70 *li* north of the present Liao-yang (83); Liao-yang lies to the south of the present Shen-yang. The centre, Shang-ku lay to the west of the present district of Kuang-ling (84) in Ho-pei. On the map, however, Kuang-ling is shown to the west of Wei-hsien (85), and already in Shan-hsi.

The old town of Yü-yang (77) lies in the south-west part of what is now Mi-yün district (86) north-east of Peking. Yu-pei-p'ing (78) occupied the north-eastern part of what is now Chin-hai-tao (87) and Jehol region. The centre was at P'ing-ch'üan hsien (88) in Jehol. Liao Hsi (79) apparently covered a large area from Ch'eng-te (the former Jehol) in the west to Chao-yang (89) and Chin-chou (90) in the east. Liao-tung (80) lay to the east of the river Liao in the south-eastern part of Liao-ning (91) with its centre in Hsiang-p'ing district (75).

The direct rule of Yen seems to have extended into the southern region of Chahar, Jehol and Liao-ning and the northern region of Ho-pei, and these were the only regions to be incorporated into the Chinese geography of the period. We should not of course forget that the historical Chinese sources, usually conceived as chronicles, did not give much opportunity for the recording of information concerning areas outside Chinese political influence and possible intervention.

Our analysis of the information available about the Ti and other barbarians on the outskirts of the Chinese states has so far shown that these except for tribes called later Hu tribes were not very different in race, culture or economic habit from the groups whose symbiosis laid the foundations of the Chinese nation and state; this probably explains why at no point in Chinese history do we find that sharp awareness of contrast between Chinese and barbarian that we find in Greece, in the contrast between Greek and barbarian. We get the impression of a gradual merging of the Chinese states with the barbarians according to the degree to which the latter became integrated into the Chinese body. This is to be observed with the Shang, who refer in their inscriptions to "lands" hostile to the Shang, subjected to punitive raids, their chiefs hunted and sacrificed to the Shang ancestors – lands which as time passes become allies and vassals of the Shang, the Shang kings take an interest in their leaders and award them honours, incorporating them into the Chinese political system. The wars with the "barbarians" are the permanent border warfare alternating with periods of symbiosis and friendship. The same process can be followed in later periods, too, for example, in the struggles between the Chin and the Ti which from "state" wars gradually changed to personal colonial campaigns run by powerful feudal families in Chin for their own enrichment.

Destructive wars were conducted by Chinese political formations among themselves, for instance, when one dynasty tried to take the place of another, as in the struggle between Shang and Chou; or when the Chinese empire was gradually built up and consolidated through the liquidation of an ever-growing number of rival statelets. In most cases the enemy is not racially, linguistically or culturally different; basically these were civil wars in which the argument was political, moral, perhaps even cultural, but never racial, national, or linguistic. This is an important point to bear in mind when dealing with the conception of the Chinese Empire in later periods, when the wars against the barbarians are carried on merely on the periphery of the civilized world and instead of being national wars are more in the nature of punitive expeditions against the uncivilized hordes threatening that world.

Although the Ti invasion was a heavy blow to the eastern states and became a serious threat to their existence, it is only sporadically that any realization of Chinese inter-relationship and any awareness of differing from the barbarians can be detected in the sources. There is for instance the following passage in the *Tso-chuan* (Min year 1, Ch CI V, p. 123), recorded a year after the Ti had invaded Hsing in which Minister Kuan Chung says to Duke Huan of Ch'i: "The Jung Ti are wolves, to whom no indulgence should be given; within the states all the Hsia are nearly related, and none should be abandoned; luxurious repose is poison, which should not be cherished". That is very little in the face of long years of danger threatening from the barbarians; we pointed out earlier that Duke Huan was content to adopt a defensive policy, and that a really aggressive policy towards the Ti was not formed until the Chin wars against the Ti became the affair of individual powerful families and took on the character of colonial wars. The northern barbarians never succeeded in forming a political union which could equal the confederation of Chinese petty states. The only politically organized body of any permanency was the state of Chung-shan, and this rivalled the Chinese petty states in every way -- but always as a second-rate antagonist. Until the Hsiung-nu empire arose the Chinese had no rival worthy of the name on their frontiers, a fact which undoubtedly affected very strongly their conception of their own empire and of the world, a conception which still endures in the Chinese consciousness.

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Abbreviations.

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A M	Asia Major, Leipzig, London.
Ar Or	Archiv Orientální, Praha.
B M F E A	Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.
B E F E O	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient. Hanoi, Paris.
B S O (A) S	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London.
E S A	Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua, Helsinki.
J A	Journal Asiatique, Paris.
J A O S	Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore.
J Ch B R A S	Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J N C B R A S	Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
O L Z	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Berlin, Leipzig.
T P	T'oung Pao, Leiden.
Z D M G	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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Abbreviations:

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IAN SIF	Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Serija istorii i filosofii, Moskva.
KSIE	Kratkie soobščenija Instituta etnografii, Moskva.
KSIIMK	Kratkije soobščenija Instituta istorii material'noj kul'tury, Moskva.
MIA SSSR	Materialy issledovanija po archeologii SSSR Moskva.
RANION	Rossijskaja associacija naučno-issledovatel'skich institutov obščestvennyc nauk, Moskva.
SA	Sovetskaja archeologija, Moskva.
SE	Sovetskaja etnografija, Moskva.
VDK	Vestnik drevnej istorii, Moskva.

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子詮詁 vii) 爾雅 viii) 韓非子, 王先慎,
韓非子集解 ix) 漢書, 王先謙, 漢書
補注 x) 後漢書, 王先謙 xi) 荀子,
白話譯解 xii) xiii) 淮南子 xiv) 逸周書
xv) 管子, 函芬樓 xvi) 管子, 郭沫若,
聞一多, 許維喬, 管子集校 xvii) 國語,
吳曾祺, 朱元善, 國語韋解 xviii) 列子,
楊伯峻, 列子集釋 xix) 呂氏春秋
xx) 穆天子傳 xxi) 墨子, 孫詒讓, 墨
子閒詁 xxii) 山海經 xxiii) 史記, 史記
會注考證 xxiv) 史記, 顧頡剛, 徐文
珊 xxv) 世本, 秦嘉謨, 世本輯補
xxvi) 詩譜攷正 xxvii) 十三經, 宋本

注疏附校甚記 XXVIII) 水經注 XXIX)
説苑, 劉向 XXX) 大清一統志 XXXI) 大
戴禮記 XXXII) 太平御覽 XXXIII) 帝王世紀,
皇甫謐 XXXIV) 元和郡縣志, 李吉甫

CHINESE NAMES AND QUOTATIONS

1) 黎 2) 黎城 3) 黎亭 4) 長治 5) 潞城 6) 黎侯嶺 7) 潞 8) 太原

I CHINESE CHARACTERS

1) 春秋大事表 2) 顧棟高 3) 玁狁，獫狁，獫允，厰允，嚴允，厰狁 4) 獯鬻，獯粥，葷育 5) 狄，翟 6) 輕呂 7) 禺氏 8) 牛氏 9) 禺智 10) 涇水 11) 氏 12) 潞氏 13) 甲氏 14) 人 15) 論佛表 16) 荀濟 17) 允姓之戎

1) 逷 2) 鬼方 3) 昆夷 4) 岐 5) 小盂鼎 6) 畏
7) 隗 8) 鬼戎 9) 媿 10) 嬇 饋 11) 緄戎
12) 犬戎 13) 葷 14) 薰 15) 混 16) 昆 17) 狁
18) 聲 19) 韻 20) 太原戎 21) 懿 22) 宣
23) 允姓之姦 24) 鮮虞 25) 中山 26) 緄戎
27) 大荔 28) 上君 29) 代 30) 貊 31) 韓奕
32) 杜預 33) 肥 34) 廧咎如 35) 無終 36)
北戎 37) 山戎 38) 魝 39) 伊 40) 洛 41) 先
零 42) 湟 43) 鄯 44) 西洛鬼戎 45) 涇
46) 追 47) 重耳 48) 采桑 49) 鄉寧縣
50) 鼓 51) 皋落狄 52) 樂平縣 53) 鄋
瞞 54) 長狄 55) 曹戎 56) 大小戎 57) 鄭
58) 瓜州 59) 濟南府 60) 西寧 61) 鳳翔
62) 狄曆 63) 丁零 64) 五胡 65) 翟 66) 鮮于
67) 圜 68) 圁 69) 麗土 70) 驪山 71) 小臣
72) 羌 73) 姬 74) 姜 75) 密 76) 監 77) 作雒
78) 内服的侯亞 79) 昆都 80) 臨汾

III

1) 邢 2) 衛 3) 鹹 4) 叔孫得臣 5) 侯叔夏 6) 莊叔 7) 綿房甥 8) 富父終甥 9) 僑如 10) 子駒 11) 宣伯 12) 皇父充石 13) 耏班 14) 公子穀甥 15) 牛父 16) 長丘 17) 緣斯 18) 耏門 19) 潞 20) 焚如 21) 成父 22) 榮如 23) 周首 24) 簡如 25) 酆舒 26) 防風氏 27) 會稽 28) 汪芒氏 29) 桼 30) 禺山 31) 永安 32) 吳

1) 漳 2) 飢 3) 阢 4) 耆 5) 羌 6) 武乙 7) 子
8) 沚 9) 侯 10) 紂 11) 唐 12) 冀城 13) 晉
14) 夏虛 15) 澮 16) 堯 17) 伊耆 18) 伊祁
19) 范 20) 陶唐 21) 五子之歌 22) 冀 23) 方
24) 霍 25) 危 26) 望 27) 光 28) 微 29) 啟
30) 微子城 31) 吉 32) 稟辛 33) 蜀 34) 羌
35) 吳弗其戈羌蜀 36) 庸 37) 僕 38) 盧
39) 髳 40) 巴 41) 彭 42) 彭亡城 43) 彭
山縣 44) 彭戲 45) 彭衙 46) 白水 47)
取 48) 敦 49) 沁 50) 中條山 51) 莘 52)
陝石鎮 53) 陝 54) [illegible] 55) 易縣 56) 北
57) 燕 58) 北伯 59) 來水 60) 妟 61) 董
作賓 62) 邢 63) 邢臺 64) 祖乙 65) 邢
66) 耿 67) 井

V 1

1)武丁 2)土方 3)苦 4)楛 5)荊 6)包頭
7)沚震 8)妻妟 9)妻姌 10)子替 11)祖
庚 12)方 13)少康 14)王會篇 15)河 16)
敦 17)沁陽 18)帝辛 19)帝乙 20)人
21)渭 22)攸 23)淮 24)武功 25)右扶風
26)褻 27)濕 28)祖乙伐人方伯… 29)戎
30)犬侯 31)令多子族眔犬侯寇周 32)令
多子族從犬侯璞周 33)蠲白 34)乂
35)乙辛 36)亞羌 37)馬羌 38)多馬羌 39)
文武丁 40)隴西君 41)羌道 42)羌水
43)羌白鎮 44)寧羌 45)懷羌 46)來羌
47)石皮羌 48)臨羌 49)伏羌 50)黃帝
51)炎帝 52)姜原 53)齊 54)吾離 55)揚
拒 56)泉皋 57)陰戎 58)陸渾戎 59)
伊川 60)九州戎 61)嵩 62)伏流城 63)
方山 64)成周 65)王城 66)澗 67)姜氏
之戎 68)崔 69)縣 70)亶父 71)混夷 72)
采薇 73)昆夷 74)畎夷 75)緄戎 76)畎

戎 77) 馬 78) 口 79) 犬夷 80) 犬 81) 畎 82)
昆 83) 混 84) 緄 85) 昆都 86) 西寧縣 87) 青
海 88) 鳳翔 89) 隴 90) 樹惇 91) 敦 92)
曼頭 93) 涑 94) 戶桀之亂畎夷入居邠岐
之閒 95) 豳 96) 美陽亭 97) 右扶風 98) 武
功 99) 地名考略 100) 畢 101) 缶 102) 亘 103)
洒誥 104) 越在外服 105) 全盂鼎 106) 殷
男侯田 107) 甸 108) 豫 109) 垣 110) 垣曲
111) 陶 112) 永濟縣 113) 琥 114) 桑田 115)
桐桑馬驛 116) 閿鄉 117) 亞犬鼎

1) 西伯戡黎 2) 祖伊 3) 發 4) 昌 5) 季歷
6) 燕京 7) 余無 8) 始呼 9) 翳徒 10) 墬形
訓 11) 高誘 12) 余吾 13) 屯留 14) 霍叔
15) 處 16) 受辛 17) 武庚 18) 祿父 19) 三
監 20) 管叔 21) 鮮 22) 鄘 23) 蔡叔 24)
度 25) 作雒解 26) 成湯 27) 河内 28) 風
29) 鄭玄 30) 詩譜 31) 邶鄘衛譜 32) 漳
33) 桑土 34) 兗州 35) 管 36) 鄭州 37) 上
蔡 38) 汝南 39) 世俘解 40) 韓城 41) 梁
山 42) 厲 43) 彘 44) 汾

1) 上 2) 高奴 3) 膚施 4) 延安 5) 魏 6) 奢延
7) 白土 8) 高望 9) 右翼前旗 10) 横山 11)
右翼中旗 12) 括地志 13) 白池 14) 鹽
州 15) 綏州 16) 銀州 17) 郡 18) 漆沮
19) 鹽池縣 20) 河西 21) 圁 22) 圜陰
23) 圜陽 24) 神木 25) 屈野河 26) 烏蘭
27) 楨林 28) 榆林 29) 龜茲 30) 平都 31)
安定 32) 雕陰 33) 鄜 34) 原都 35) 襄
洛 36) 寧 37) 燕原 38) 淺水 39) 長武
40) 慶陽 41) 義渠 42) 密須 43) 靈臺
44) 百里鎮 45) 翟道 46) 坊州 47) 中部
48) 黄陵 49) 定陽 50) 宜川 51) 采桑 52) 吉
53) 韓 54) 梁 55) 朝邑 56) 芮 57) 大荔
58) 白水 59) 王城 60) 同州 61) 黃陵 62)
長武 63) 蒲 64) 二屈 65) 隰

1) 羋 2) 曹 3) 鬼 4) 畏 5) [illegible] 6) 隗 7) ㄴ 8) 阝
9) 媿 10) 女 11) 嬇 12) 潰 13) 隤 14) 系本
15) 陸終 16) 女嬇 17) 古今人表 18) 帝
繫 19) 貴 20) 畢萬 21) 芮城 22) 懷 23)
唐叔 24) 九侯 25) 危 26) 季 27) 朱起鳳,
辭通 28) 入聲, 藥 29) 部落 30) 鬼易
31) 奚 32) 既濟 33) 高宗伐鬼方三年克
之 34) 未濟 35) 震用伐鬼方三年有
賞于大國 36) 白震 37) 湯篇 38) 濰
縣陳 39) 抑鬼方䜌 40) 梁伯作 41)
小盂鼎 42) 康 43) 北殷 44) 亳 45) 湯
杜 46) 湯杜 47) [illegible] 48) 三原 49) 雍州
50) 湯陵 51) 湯臺 52) 始平 53) 興平
54) 戜方 55) 祖庚 56) 魃 57) 戈 58) 攴
59) 王會解 60) 鬼親 61) 西昆侖 62) 百
蠻 63) 徐

1) 古公亶父 2) 讓王 3) 審為 4) 太王
5) 薰育 6) 渾庾 7) 冒頓 8) 寇 9) 穆 10) 畢
11) 懿 12) 陖翟 13) 疇胡 14) 許男 15) 洧
16) 房 17) 孟盦 18) 釋地 19) 北陵 20) 西
俞 21) 不嬰毀 22) 鴈門是也 23) 代
24) 音初 25) 昭 26) 荊 27) 辛餘靡 28)
長 29) 侯之于西翟 30) 長公 31) 殷整甲
32) 河亶甲 33) 劉向 34) 宋忠 35) 袁
36) 顧命 37) 湯誓 38) 瞻卬 39) 幽 40)
介 41) 甲 42) 狄

x

1) 渭瀆 2) 勃鞮 3) 謀父 4) 祭公 5)
大畢 6) 伯士 7) 荒服 8) 毛公班 9) 共
公利 10) 逢公固 11) 舂山 12) 夷 13) 俞
泉 14) 西戎 15) 申侯 16) 酈山 17) 六月
18) 陽曲 19) 顧炎武 20) 日知錄 21) 平
涼 22) 原州 23) 固原 24) 臺駘 25) 洮
26) 聞喜 27) 橫嶺山 28) 絳縣 29) 雷
水之阿 30) 雷首山 31) 蒲坂縣 32)
蒲州 33) 焦穫 34) 俞 35) 杜陽 36)
隴坻

CHINESE CHARACTERS XI

1)清水河縣 2)达拉特 3)包頭 4)
伊金霍洛 5)烏尔吉木倫河 6)紅山
7)赤峯 8)錫林郭勒 9)苏尼特
10)晉城縣 11)高都縣 12)沁水縣
13)大城山 14)巴彥 15)托克托 16)
呼和浩特 17)歸綏 18)克什克騰
19)砂鍋屯 20)錦州 21)朝陽 22)
丁零諸大姓 23)五胡十六國

CHINESE CHARACTERS XIII

1)斧 2)弓形哭 3)矛

1) 欒平 2) 宣化 3) 代 4) 威州 5) 理番
6) 唐山 7) 甕棺 8) 室 9) 小營子 10) 延吉
11) 西團山 12) 哲里穆 13) 喀喇沁 14)
翁牛特 15) 敖漢 16) 寧城 17) 回 18) 美
麗河鄉 19) 東胡 20) 西窯子村 21) 和林
格爾 22) 鉸 23) 土默特旗 24) 林胡 25)
樓煩 26) 遼寧 27) 海城 28) 遼陽 29) 錦
西 30) 朝陽 31) 扎賚諾爾 32) 東善鄉
33) 西豐縣 34) 冒頓 35) 昭烏達

1)采薇 2)出車 3)六月 4)采芑 5)虢季子白盤 6)不𡢁𣪘 7)兮甲盤 8)王命卿士南仲太祖大師皇父 9)常武 10)古今人表 11)龐參 12)馬融 13)鎬 14)方 15)孝文 16)上君 17)太宗 18)懿 19)宣室 20)宣榭 21)吉甫 22)氏 23)尹吉甫 24)城彼朔方 25)焦穫 26)釋地 27)藪 28)瓠中 29)鄭渠 30)瓠口 31)西邸 32)中山 33)涇陽 34)昆明池 35)豐水 36)平涼縣 37)莽 38)永濟縣 39)用致䜌方 40)西俞 41)高陵 42)公伯 43)孟姬 44)翁同書 45)洛 46)左馮翊 47)孫子仲 48)申伯 49)司徒 50)方叔 51)邾 52)韓地 53)繆公與麾下馳追之 54)於是岐下食善馬者三百人馳冒晉軍解圍 55)梁由靡 56)惠 57)石奮 58)匈奴諸水東山 59)徑路刀 60)番犁 61)輕呂 62)輕劍

1)北戎 2)鏊 3)許 4)草中 5)麗土 6)翼 7)曲沃 8)東山皋落氏 9)絳 10)上黨記 11)潞州 12)壺關縣 13)平皋赤壤 14)壺關城 15)長治縣 16)潞城 17)樂平 18)平定州 19)寰宇記 20)昔陽縣 21)垣曲 22)清水 23)清廉 24)服虔 25)倚亳城 26)垣 27)皋落堡 28)金史 29)鎮 30)解縣 31)耿 32)河津縣 33)冀 34)虞 35)平陸縣 36)虢 37)麗姬 38)臨章 39)翟相 40)稷桑 41)稷山 42)鄍 43)濟源縣

1)無終 2)大鹵 3)薊 4)右北平郡 5)杜預
6)漁陽 7)幽 8)堯 9)奭 10)召 11)令支 12)
離支 13)孤竹 14)遷安 15)盧龍 16)朝
陽 17)肥 18)易 19)廧咎如 20)夷儀 21)楚
丘 22)甲 23)邢臺 24)管仲 25)懿 26)惠
27)伋 28)朔 29)洞澤 30)洞澤 31)熒澤
32)淇 33)湯陰 34)朝哥 35)共 36)光軍 37)
滕 38)安陽 39)戴 40)曹 41)滑縣 42)昭
伯 43)文 44)清人 45)彭 46)消 47)軸
48)高克 49)聶北 50)聊城縣 51)葵茲
52)晏負 53)釜邱 54)五鹿 55)中牟 56)蓋
與 57)牡丘 58)小匡篇 59)蔡 60)鄢
61)陵 62)培 63)夏 64)靈 65)父 66)丘
67)鄴 68)上蔡 69)馬陵 70)濬 71)靈丘
72)滕 73)漢陽 74)閼與 75)和順 76)
茌平

1) 眾狄 2) 氏 3) 陽 4) 陽處父 5) 陽子
6) 陽氏 7) 潞 8) 上黨君 9) 潞祠山 10)
嬰兒 11) 微子 12) 屯留 13) 留吁 14) 鐸辰
15) 奚澤縣 16) 廣平府 17) 欒城 18) 正定
19) 蒿城 20) 豈 21) 白狄子 22) 鹿上 23) 草
中 24) 狐 25) 趙 26) 季子 27) 夷吾 28) 采桑
29) 鄉寧 30) 里克 31) 奚齊 32) 高梁 33) 帶
34) 溫子 35) 伊 36) 雒 37) 鹹 38) 淮夷
39) 黃 40) 江 41) 匡 42) 甗 43) 歷城 44)
濟南 45) 菟圃 46) 訾婁 47) 偃師 48) 盂
49) 士 50) 洩堵寇 51) 頹叔 52) 桃子
53) 櫟 54) 函 55) 坎欿 56) 翟 57) 忌父
58) 原. 59) 毛 60) 氾 61) 襄城 62) 許州 63)
國子 64) 狐廚 65) 襄陵 66) 受鐸 67) 懷
68) 文 69) 陽樊 70) 隰 71) 武陟 72) 攢
茅 73) 南陽 74) 姜戎 75) 殽 76) 淇 77)
太谷 78) 輔氏 79) 河縣 80) 郜

CHINESE CHARACTERS XIX

1) 帝丘 2) 漢陽 3) 趙盾 4) 賈季 5) 趙
衰 6) 靈 7) 雍 8) 鹹 9) 鉅野 10) 士會
11) 成 12) 懷 13) 邢丘 14) 平皋 15) 及 16) 向
陰 17) 濟源 18) 郤成子 19) 欑函 20) 邲
21) 先穀 22) 清 23) 伯宗 24) 荀林父 25)
曲梁 26) 永年 27) 樓 28) 旄丘 29) 黻 30)
冕 31) 郤克 32) 孫良夫 33) 百泉 34) 厥憖
35) 新鄉 36) 中行 37) 牽 38) 季孫意如
39) 偪陽 40) 狄虒彌 41) 澮 42) 烏嶺

CHINESE CHARACTERS XX

1) 令狐 2) 王城 3) 史 4) 交剛 5) 麻隧 6)
猷 7) 羣狄 8) 嘉父 9) 孟樂 10) 魏絳
11) 梗陽 12) 徐溝 13) 祁大夫 14) 中都 15)
平遙縣 16) 蕭魚 17) 魏悼子 18) 魏舒

1)平定 2)井陘 3)東陽 4)馬李長 5)馬融 6)軹 7)南陽 8)鄗 9)任 10)國夏 11)柏人 12)荀寅 13)棘蒲 14)趙縣 15)高邑 16)唐山縣 17)昔陽 18)肥如城 19)肥纍城 20)高城縣 21)劉炫 22)欒平 23)應邵 24)下曲陽 25)昔陽亭 26)鼓聚 27)鉅鹿 28)藁城 29)赤麗 30)宣安 31)常山 32)苦陘 33)李兌 34)李克 35)并州 36)陘邑縣 37)無極縣 38)趙希 39)上曲陽 40)定州 41)石邑 42)獲鹿縣 43)封龍 44)飛龍山 45)鹿泉縣 46)恒州 47)東垣 48)丹丘 49)闞駰 50)十三州志 51)桓山 52)北岳 53)華陽臺 54)恒陽縣 55)渾源 56)鴟之塞 57)鳿上故關 58)唐縣 59)汝城 59)汝城 60)靈壽 61)新市故城 62)新樂縣 63)滋水 64)中人 65)中人邑 66)望都縣 67)代郡 68)靈丘 69)廣昌 70)恆水 71)左人城

72)應邵 73)雹水 74)委粟 75)地道記
76)委粟關 77)廣唐城 78)京相番 79)堯
故城 80)馬溺水 81)頓 82)樂羊城
83)水導 84)地理風俗記 85)深縣
86)寧葭 87)扶柳 88)莫 89)大河 90)
汲縣 91)大名縣 92)漳河 93)滹沱
河 94)大陸 95)鉅鹿 96)九河 97)清
苑縣 98)昌黎 99)堂邑 100)清平 101)
高唐 102)平原 103)滄縣 104)任丘 105)
涿 106)雄縣 107)鄚 108)窮魚之邱 109)
知伯 110)射魚城 111)淶水縣 112)呼
沱 113)荊軻 114)中易 115)南易 116)北
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雲 87) 津海道 88) 平泉縣 89) 朝陽
90) 錦州 91) 遼寧

CONTENTS

Introduction 5

I. The present state of research in Europe 9

II. Studies by Chinese scholars 18

III. The legends about the Sou-man in eastern China 27

IV. Vassal statelets of Shang in Shan-hsi 31

V. The northern and western barbarians in the Shang period 36

VI. The early settlement of Shan-hsi and the Chou invasions 47

VII. The original home of the Ti 53

VIII. The Ti and the Kuei 57

IX. The Ti in the old sources 65

X. The migration of the Ti and the Ch'üan Jung 70

XI. The reasons behind the migration of the Ti and other tribes from west to east 77

XII. The emergence of mounted nomadism 88

XIII. The Scythian epoch 96

XIV. Scythian culture in the Great Wall region 105

XV. Invasions by the Hsien-yün 119

XVI. The Ti migrations 136

XVII. Ti migrations to the east 142

XVIII. New Ti settlements in the east, and their incursions into the Chinese states 150

XIX. Red Ti raids on the Chinese states from 630 to 594 B.C., and their ultimate subjugation 163

XX. The subjugation of the Western Ti and the T'ai-yüan basin 171

XXI. Ti settlements in the Great Plain 175

XXII. The subjugation of the Hsien-yü 183

XXIII. Chung-shan under Wei rule, and the final downfall 196

XXIV. The cultural, economic and linguistic affinities of the Ti 206

Bibliography

Works in Western Languages 229

Works in Russian 234

Works in Chinese 237

Index 245

Chinese bibliography 277

Works in Chinese 279

Chinese Sources 285

Chinese names and Quotations 287

Chinese characters 289

Maps

Shang Statelets and the Northern and Western Barbarians 48

Archeological sites in the Northern Territories 78

Ti and the Chinese States in the Chou Period. Hsien-Yün invasions, Ti migrations 120

The Northern Ti 184